

OCTOBER, 1890.

The Congregational Review

IN WHICH ARE INCORPORATED

The Congregationalist and British Quarterly Review.

EDITED BY THE

REV. J. GUINNESS ROGERS, B.A.

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TRACTARIAN LEADER—CARDINAL.

THE extraordinary feeling called forth by the death of Cardinal Newman is not only a remarkable tribute to the greatness of the man, but is also instructive as a sign of the times. Had any one ventured, fifty years ago, to predict that in this last decade of the century England would be thus deeply moved by the death of a Cardinal, he would have been heard with pitying incredulity. If he had added that this emotion would not indicate any growth of sympathy with the Romish Church itself, he would have provoked only contemptuous ridicule. Yet he would have expressed nothing more than the bare fact. It would be more easy indeed to contest the latter statement, but we are satisfied both are absolutely true.

It is not necessary to regard all the eulogies which have been written or spoken as expressions of the deliberate or intelligent judgments of those by whom they have been pronounced. There is always not a little of mere "buncombe" about the obituary notices of the press. Newman has long been, for reasons which it is not very easy to fathom, a favourite with the journalists. To everything of which modern journalism is representative he has been the most uncompromising opponent, and yet every section of the press (unless it be a few more extreme *Orange* newspapers, which would fain have themselves regarded as special champions

of Protestantism) has done homage to his distinguished ability and high character. Of the writers some have probably only fallen into the fashion of the hour, and if they were asked to justify their estimates of Newman's power as a thinker, or his perfection as a master of style, would be completely nonplussed. But there are others of a very different stamp. Mr. Hutton's admiration of the great Cardinal is well known, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find *The Spectator* saying, "There are deaths yet to come which will agitate the English world more than Cardinal Newman's; but there has been nor will be none, so far as we know, that will leave the world that really knew him with so keen a sense of deprivation, of a white star extinguished, of a sign vanished, of an age impoverished, of a grace withdrawn." If there is exaggeration here, it is exaggeration which may well be forgiven, because of the intense sincerity which breathes through it all. It is the utterance of one who not only admires the remarkable genius of the Cardinal, and his still rarer saintliness, but who is to a large extent in sympathy with the tendencies of his thought, although hesitating to adopt his extreme conclusions. Naturally, a more impartial critic would qualify the estimate of so sympathetic an admirer, but he is the representative of a class of thinkers who acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Newman for the gallant struggle which he has maintained throughout a long life against the lawlessness (as they regard it) of individualism quite as much as against the insolence of unbelief.

It is not quite so easy to understand why *The Speaker*, the latest recruit of the Liberal party in the press, should incline in the same direction. The departed Cardinal was, perhaps, the most formidable opponent which the Liberalism of which *The Speaker* is so able a champion has had to encounter. It is true that of late years he did not greatly concern himself in politics, and it has been said that his proclivities, so far as he had any, were towards old Whig views. On the other hand, however, it cannot be forgotten that his vehement indignation against the Erastianism of

the first Reform ministry and the ecclesiastical reforms which it carried was one of the causes that led to the Tractarian movement. There is no reason to suppose that his views on these points were ever changed, or that he ever ceased to regard with distrust and aversion the principles which are at the root of political Liberalism. That term, indeed, is used so vaguely and covers such a wide area of opinion that the statement might be challenged, unless we give it a more definite character by identifying Liberalism with democratic principles. With these the Cardinal cannot have had any sympathy, and yet there is no class from whom there has come a more hearty recognition of his distinguished character than the consistent and earnest advocates of these progressive views.

The Speaker is conspicuous among these eulogists, and so far as its comments on the Cardinal's personal qualities are concerned we are in sympathy with it. But the underlying view of the Tractarian movement is hardly so intelligible. Referring to the attacks upon the leaders in its early stages, the writer says :

These maligned men are to-day, with their most distinguished leader, all objects of admiration and praise. One generation slays the prophets, and the next adorns their sepulchres. The Tractarian Movement is by no means a solitary example. Time always brings these revenges, but it is seldom that the martyrs live to witness their own vindication.

This is, to say the least, a remarkable utterance to be found in an organ of Liberal Protestantism. There is scarcely an opinion in it which we should not be prepared to traverse. As a whole it raises so many questions that affect our estimate of the Cardinal's career, that it deserves a careful examination. We might ask in the outset in what sense the Tractarians were martyrs. They were very keenly criticised, sometimes unfairly, but men who were seeking to work a revolution in the spirit of the National Church in which they filled high position and exercised a potent influence could expect nothing less. "The secular press was almost unanimous against them; *The Times*, after an interval of halting between two opinions, leading the chorus of perse-

cution and abuse." Of how many great movements and the high-minded men by whom they have been inspired might not the same be said. In a large degree it is true in relation to the Protestant Dissenters of to-day, and was much more so half a century ago. No doubt many bitter things were said and some harsh measures adopted, and even harsher words launched against them. But it must not be forgotten that these men were the ministers of a privileged Church, and there was nothing unfair in requiring them to observe the conditions on which their privileges were enjoyed. The system is undoubtedly based on a principle which meant persecution, but they had approved the system, had flourished under its protection, were enjoying immunities and advantages at the cost of other classes of the community, and they were barred from any complaint when the terms which they had not scrupled to enforce against others were applied to themselves. The action taken against Mr. Ward may or may not have been wise, but it was in accord with the traditional policy which the University had adopted towards Protestant Nonconformists, and of which the Tractarians were firm supporters. Assuredly never had any body of men, who set themselves in determined opposition to public opinion and sought to change the character of a Church, less reason to regard themselves as martyrs. They were charged by bishops, lampooned by wits, assailed with all kinds of opprobrious epithets by clerical bigots of the narrower sort, now and then they were dragged up before the tribunals, but there it all ended. Compare their struggle with that of Nonconformity for bare life, and how light does it all appear. We may come down to later times, and point to the secession of the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland as manifesting a moral heroism and involving an amount of sacrifice to which we have no parallel or even approach in the case of the Tractarians. We are not writing thus to reproach them, for we do not see that at any special crisis of the conflict they were called upon to secede from a Church of which they conscientiously believed themselves to be the most consistent representa-

tives. All that we are anxious to do is to correct an exaggerated representation of their position.

They may be regarded as martyrs, if it be martyrdom to endure the misrepresentation not only of journalists, who probably had but little insight into the actual merits of the controversy, but even of their own clerical rulers, who should have been capable of better appreciating their position and forming a judicial estimate of its strength and its weakness. But this is only what other teachers who will not bow down to the idols of the tribe or of the forum have had to endure. After all, this kind of thing does not harm men much; and it is fortunate that it does not, for most public men have to face it in a greater or less degree. The criticisms of episcopal charges were doubtless harder to bear than those misinterpretations of motive and conduct, those insinuations always ungenerous and often cruelly unjust, the words of so-called friends, which disturb and wound, to which every man who dares to take up an unpopular cause or comes across the prevailing prejudice of any organ of public opinion must become inured. As to most of the accusations directed against them, however, it can scarcely be maintained, except by strong High Churchmen, that they were without foundation. *The Speaker* has a very pretty anthology:

"Let us diligently search the well of life," says one, "and not run after the stinking puddles of tradition devised by men's imaginations." "It is a subject of deep concern," said another, "that any of our body should prepare men of ardent feelings for a return to the Roman Mass-book." "Already," said a third, "are the foundations of apostasy laid. Antichrist is at the door. I am full of fear; everything is at stake. There seems to be something judicial in the spread of these opinions." "Our glory is in jeopardy," cries a fourth. "Tractarianism is the masterpiece of Satan," says a fifth. In short, the leading Tractarians were denounced as "superstitious," "zealots," "mystical," "malignants," "Oxford heretics," "Jesuits in disguise," "tamperers with Popish idolatry," "agents of Satan," "a synagogue of Satan," "snakes in the grass," "men who were walking about our beloved Church polluting the sacred edifice and leaving their slime about her altars," "miscreants whose heads," said a pious bishop "may God crush."

All of which proves that bishops are, like ordinary men, apt to lose their heads in times of panic, and when they do so, not very discriminating in their logic or choice in their language. Much of this is mere rant, not very creditable to those who indulged in it, but perfectly harmless to those against whom it was directed. But after all, when it has been stripped of that exuberant rhetoric and wild denunciation, is there not in it very much truth? Were not these men trying to lead the Church back to the Roman Mass-book? It was, to speak mildly, undesirable for any Christian minister to speak even of the Church from which he most strongly dissented as a "synagogue of Satan." The language is indefensible—as indefensible as that of the dean who has branded the political Dissenter as "an enemy to God and his country." But it would almost seem as though some Church dignitaries regard this liberty of denunciation as a peculiar right of their office, perhaps even esteem it a positive duty. Assuredly there have been few cases in which such a mistake was more excusable, and in which there was so much justification for the charges that were made. This is what the subsequent events have proved, and nowhere more than in the case of the Cardinal. Indeed, when we look at the long list of seceders to the Romish Church, it is hard to deny that the bishops were right in their diagnosis of the new disease with which the Church was afflicted.

That the judgments passed on the aims and motives of individual men were often mistaken, must be confessed. In the excitement of an angry contest, when the feelings are heated on both sides, the combatants are not likely to do justice to each other. Still more certain is it that a nation which feels itself menaced in some of its dearest interests is not in a condition to recognize the high qualities of those by whom its jealous susceptibilities have been aroused. The instincts of the people guided them rightly in their judgment on the tendencies of the Tractarian movement. They erred in supposing that the Romeward movement was of deliberate plan and purpose, whereas it was a drift of which those who were in the

current were quite unconscious. As frequently happens, the spectators saw the issue sooner and more clearly than the authors of the movement itself, and unsophisticated men could not believe that the Tractarians were not guilty of deliberate treachery. Perhaps till the "Apologia" appeared this view continued to prevail. That book created an entire revolution of feeling, and there are few now, whose opinion is entitled to any weight, who do not acknowledge that Newman and his friends were honest, and were loyal to the Anglican Church so long as they professed allegiance. When they could do that no longer, they passed over to the Church for which their previous movements had been preparing them.

The "Apologia" had thus very much to do with the creation of that sentiment which, from the date of its publication, grew up around its distinguished author. His personal influence had always been very great, and it had been diffused through the country by means of enthusiastic admirers, who had carried down from Oxford the impression of his gifts and graces. Even apart from his followers there were many who had not themselves come under the spell of his extraordinary fascination, who yet had known and looked up to him as one of the great leaders of the University—indeed, its most conspicuous figure. They had heard some of the eager discussions carried on about him and his teachings, if they had not themselves taken part in them. They had listened to those thrilling discourses in St. Mary's, and there come under the power of (to quote the words of Froude in the "Nemesis of Faith") "that voice so keen, so preternaturally sweet, whose very whisper used to thrill through crowded churches, when every breath was held to hear; that calm grey eye; those features so stern, yet so gentle." His secession to Rome had, of course, staggered many of these High Church admirers, who found themselves deserted by the leader to whom they had looked up with such profound reverence, and exposed to the contempt and ridicule of opponents whose worst auguries had been confirmed

by that event. But even that did not quench their enthusiasm for the man. They were distressed for the time—possibly they were soured; but after all there remained the memory of the transcendent power by which they had been awed, that still more remarkable saintliness by which they had been charmed. The circle thus affected was more considerable in influence than in numbers, and outside it was the great mass to whom Newman's name was a synonym not only for apostasy, but apostasy aggravated by craft and treachery. It was this suspicion which the "Apologia" scattered once and for ever. In vindication of his own character a high-minded man had told the inner story of his life, and all who took the trouble to examine it saw that, however mistaken he might have been in some of his conclusions or even in the guiding principle by which he had been led to them, at all events he had throughout been a true man, and that his final act was in absolute consistency with all the former steps.

The reaction in the popular mind was strong, as is always the case with Englishmen when they have been guilty of an injustice. But the feeling thus engendered has been strengthened by circumstances. The idea of treason or duplicity once abandoned, men began to appreciate the costliness of the sacrifice which Newman had made for conscience' sake. Of his strong attachment to the Church in which he was born and educated there can be no doubt. It claims to be the Church of the nation, and he was a patriotic Englishman. But strong as was this tie, it was weaker than that of the innumerable memories and associations, specially tender and sacred to a man of his calibre, which bound him to a community to which all his most beloved friends belonged, in which the brightest of his youth had been passed, and for which all his chivalrous devotion had been awakened. The writer in *The Speaker* seems to think that a more sympathetic treatment from the authorities of the Church might have averted what undoubtedly was the severest loss that Church has sustained since the days of Wesley: "What a nature like his needed was sympathetic and active service. The

responsibility and duties of a bishop's office would have diverted his mind from unhealthy brooding, and left him no time for spinning out theories. But instead of sympathy he received abuse, and was bidden to leave." Such a view may commend itself to an Anglican perfectly satisfied as to the impregnable position of his own Church, but it will convince no one outside. Newman was carried to Rome by the force of a relentless logic, not by the broodings of a distempered fancy or the wounded feelings caused by neglect. He had made such treatment as the writer suggests impossible. The English people believed that in the "Tracts" the "Lives of the Saints," and the whole teachings of the school of which he was the head, they had detected Romeward tendencies; and the people were right. In the face of that feeling it would have been madness to place him at the head of a diocese. Nor do we believe that such a mode of dealing with him would have arrested his steps. He did not need any favour of the kind to awaken his enthusiasm for the Anglican Church. It may be true that he had "never yielded it the loyal submission of a son," but the error was one of judgment only. He certainly meant to be loyal, and believed that he was rendering it the best possible service when he set himself to check the encroachments of modern Liberalism and to undo what he regarded as the mistakes of the Reformation. The fiery denunciations against the Church of Rome in which at one time he indulged were the indirect expressions of his zeal for his own Church—perhaps of the unconscious irritation produced by a secret sense of the weakness of her case. During all the earlier stages of the Tractarian movement he was a passionate Anglican, and his surrender of all the positions for which he had so strenuously contended must have cost him an effort and a struggle which we are quite incompetent to measure.

What this surrender meant in the way of worldly loss, no man was better able to appreciate. The forces which work against Nonconformity in this country are neither few nor feeble, and the Anglican Church has never scrupled

to employ these to the utmost. Even to this day, despite the changes which have resulted partly from more righteous legislation, but even more from the spread of more liberal and enlightened ideas, the Nonconformist *quâ* Nonconformist is regarded as of an inferior type. Exception is made by exceptional men on behalf of individuals, but the Nonconformist as such meets with but scant consideration and still scantier respect. His church is no church, his ministers are intruders and interlopers. It is fashionable to affect ignorance of his opinions or his modes of worship, and, in short, nothing is wanting to make him feel his own social and religious inferiority. Newman understood all this, possibly felt it in regard to Protestant Dissenters, knew that the same sentiment existed towards the Church of Rome, with the infusion of a certain amount of hatred and suspicion. He resolved, at the call of conscience, to face it all—the social ostracism, the severance of personal friendships, the ecclesiastical exile. The Church of Rome, unless it was willing to give him the tiara, had nothing to offer in the way of compensation, and his subsequent career has shown that he sought nothing. In truth, he must have been conscious that whatever Rome had to gain from him, he was far too independent to receive any favours in return. No! The more his action is considered, the clearer will it appear that he obeyed conscience, and for it abandoned hopes of worldly distinction. He went out an exile from the University of which he had been so distinguished an ornament, and as its gates closed behind him he perfectly understood that they not only closed all the avenues of his ambition, but that they parted him from some of his choicest friends. It was hard to renounce the honours he might fairly hope to have won, it was still harder to have publicly to retract opinions he had advocated with equal fervour and eloquence to a tender and loving soul like his; it was perhaps hardest of all to sever the bonds which had united him, through long and anxious years of testimony and conflict, with the friends and brethren of his heart.

Fidelity to conscience is not so common a virtue that we

can afford to ignore it, even though it leads a man to adopt opinions with which we have no sympathy. Between the late Cardinal and ourselves there is the widest possible difference of opinion. We are Protestants of the Protestants, and, as we shall have occasion to show, do not share in the slightest degree those tendencies to a more favourable estimate of Rome, Romish teaching, and Romish policy, which a respect for the saintly character of one cardinal and the philanthropic action of another seems to have produced in many, whose Liberalism might have inclined to a different view. But loyalty to conscience has a value altogether independent of the particular cause on whose behalf it is displayed, and wherever it is found it deserves to be honoured. Newman was a very conspicuous example, and as the years have rolled on this has been more and more recognized. He has not thrown himself into any of the intrigues of the "Catholic" world; it has been impossible to charge him with angling for popularity, or indeed seeking personal ends of any kind, and with all the surprising sacrifices he has been ready to make for his Church he has sturdily refused to surrender his own independence. So it has happened that the solitary old man, living his quiet life in the Birmingham Oratory, has gained an increasing hold on the best feelings of the English people. He owed something doubtless to his literary qualities. The literary class have a great capacity for making their influence felt, and most literary men have had a kindness for a writer whose form is all but perfect. But this does not go very far towards explaining the wide-spread popularity of his name. Cynics would tell us that the Englishman has very much of the snob in him, and that had he remained plain John Henry Newman, many of the tributes paid to the shrine of a cardinal would have been withheld. There is truth in the sneer, but it is after all but a small deduction from the honour so freely rendered to a great and good man. Take away all the respect paid to the cardinal or the distinguished master of the English language, and there will remain an amount of sincere homage rendered to the simple, high-minded, un-

selfish, and saintly life, which is, after all, Newman's highest glory.

From that sentiment we certainly have no wish to detract. The ideal of Christian life developed by the Cardinal is not ours, but we are not therefore less ready to acknowledge the loftiness of his aims and the earnestness with which they were pursued. In him was a rare amount of unworldliness and of other-worldliness, and it is encouraging to find that even in the eagerness with which a generation which pursues wealth and comfort with a passionate ardour that has never been surpassed, which has enlisted science as a minister to its ease and luxury, which is fierce in its competition for the prizes the world has to offer, and is, alas, only too ready to offer all the worship which its god asks as the condition of success, has shown a capacity for recognizing and honouring one who has ever manifested such a lofty indifference to self. It must be added, however, in all fairness, that his was just the life of piety with which the world does not concern itself. It dwells in the cloister, and does not trouble itself about the struggles and conflicts of the world outside, and the world can afford to praise what it never thinks of imitating.

The forty-five years during which Newman was the faithful and devoted servant of the Romish Church have been years of unusual stir and excitement. What part did this man, in honour of whose genius men exhaust their vocabulary of praise, take in the conflicts going on around him? He did much for his Church. For its sake he allowed himself to be dragged into a wretched contention with Achilli, one of those seceders of Rome who, after the fashion of perverts, hope to win the favour of their new friends by an abuse of the old, and who play too successfully upon the prejudices of the more Philistine sort of Protestants. For it he was content to plunge into a controversy for which evidently he had but little heart when he appeared as the defender of the dogma of Infallibility. His literary work has mainly been done as its champion, handling Anglican difficulties, setting forth what appeared to him the real

justification of the Church's authority, and seeking to remove the prejudices of Protestants against its doctrines. Well might the Romish Church pride itself upon its eminent convert, for champion more vigorous or gallant it has never had, and the service was all the more valuable because it was so evidently done without care for the reward. We will not inquire what profit it has reaped from his efforts. In our judgment it has gained more from his conversion than from the reasons he assigned for it. Be that as it may, Rome has had no more devoted servant.

But while thus consumed with zeal for the Church of his adoption, what has been done for humanity? The world was quite content that the pure and devout ascetic should dwell in the seclusion of the Oratory, never troubling himself to leave it except when the interests of his Church summoned him to the fray. It could even condescend to praise the simple habits which it was so far from being willing to imitate, while its secret thought was that a life of this order had in it a strain of madness. Such a saint in truth does not disturb its equanimity. His voice is seldom if ever heard in protest against its deeds of injustice, nor does he take any active part in resistance to popular evils; he meditates and prays while others defy the passions and prejudices of Society. Men are satisfied that saints should employ themselves on the culture of their own souls; what they object to is that they should undertake to reform and purify the world. They admire their rule when it is exercised within the cloister; it is only when they seek to rule the earth by the law of the gospel that they become obnoxious. It is beyond belief that the eulogists of Cardinal Newman's piety, who love to dwell on his simple habits and are so fond of recalling every incident of the life in the Oratory, have any actual sympathy with his motives or pursuits. There are not a few of them to whom its chief recommendation is that it is so largely subjective, and though it may hurl anathemas against fashionable follies or public wrongs, is quite content when it has uttered these eloquent protests and has sustained them by the still more eloquent testimony of a pure and noble life.

It is the more active and vigorous religion which feels that the whole sphere of human life is to be brought under the control of Christ's law, which has the reformation of man as its mission and is straitened until it be accomplished, which is found in the arena of controversy, and is active in the struggles or toils of the day, that provokes bitter and unsparing hostility.

But it may be asked, must there not be thinkers as well as workers? Do not the men who live in their studies, and from them affect the decisions and inspire the movements of great parties, serve the world at least quite as effectively as the soldiers who take part in the actual struggle, or the sturdy workers by whom the daily toil of Christian service is carried on? True, but this only drives us a step further back. The Cardinal was a worker in the study, in the school, in the Oratory. What was the inspiration of his devout and devoted life; what was the aim contemplated by his untiring labour? It is necessary to speak plainly on this point, if only to free many minds from a strange illusion which is very wide-spread, and which, in truth, has enlisted all the power of fashion on its side. When we have studied all that can be said in praise of the distinguished champion of the Church, when we have culled all the anecdotes told by admiring friends of his gentleness, his grace, his unselfishness, when we have been stirred by some of the extracts from his sermons or discourses, when we have gone further than most of his biographers in the press and have roamed through wide tracts of his thinking which (if we are to judge from the very limited number of illustrations repeated by one journal after another) seem to be to many of them a *terra incognita*, there still remains the question of result. To what has all this tended? Simply to the repression of freedom of thought, to the overthrow of the supremacy of the individual conscience, to the building up of priestly authority, to the establishment of the despotism of the Church that is of Rome. If he has succeeded in this, has he really conferred a boon upon humanity?

In this connection it is necessary to refer to the controversy with Kingsley. The attitude of some critics, even those who profess Liberal principles, to the combatants in this memorable fray, is to us simply unintelligible. As disputants they were unequally matched, and Kingsley, in his frank impulsiveness and his intense hatred of a system which in his view was a hindrance to the progress of truth, committed himself at the outset to an untenable position. Doubtless his soul was stirred within him at the sad spectacle of the reactionary movement—a movement which, if successful, would rob us of what has been won for truth, liberty, and righteousness by the struggles of the Reformation—of which Newman was the most illustrious representative. In an evil hour he directed his shafts against the man rather than the system, and here Newman had an easy victory. It was hardly possible for him, with his fixed belief in the Anglican system and his devotion to it, to understand the process by which Newman had been drawn into the Church of Rome. To Nonconformists it is quite intelligible, and, indeed, only what might have been expected. A belief in the authority of the priest and the efficacy of the sacrament, such as the Prayer Book teaches, leads inevitably, in our view, to the Church of Rome. Newman began as an Evangelical, with a profound respect for Thomas Scott, the commentator, albeit with a reserve as to some of the Calvinistic doctrines, and the addition of a very strong element of mysticism, trenching on superstition.

Tractarianism was the first stage of development, and for one who was trained in the Prayer Book a logical and natural one, and in Tractarianism is the germ of Romanism. With Newman it was long before that germ was vitalized, and he himself was long before he suspected what the ultimate result would be. This was what a Broad Churchman like Kingsley could not understand, and there can be no doubt that he misjudged Newman. But there was something far more serious at stake than the character of a man even so distinguished as the apostle of Tractarianism—and that was the genius

of the Romish system. In relation to that Kingsley was right, and right on Newman's own showing. He distinctly submits everything that he has written to the judgment of the Church, whose "gift and prerogative it is to determine what is true and what false in religious teaching." Surely acceptance of such a principle is fatal to the independent and earnest pursuit of truth. The question for which a man has to seek an answer is not "What is truth?" ; but "What does the Church say?" What the effect of that may be upon the conscience of the priesthood it is hardly possible for other men to pronounce. We note only the fact which clearly was in Kingsley's mind. The overpowering influence of Newman's personality, strengthened by the recoil from the severe and coarse imputations upon his integrity of character, has served to conceal the issue really at stake. Put in another form, Kingsley's contention was that he who has submitted himself to authority has renounced the service of truth. Can this be seriously controverted? Take it in the case of Newman. When the dogma of Papal Infallibility was proclaimed at the Council of the Vatican, there was a rumour that Newman was secretly opposed to it, and Mr. Capes went so far as to assert that he had forced his conscience to accept what he detested. The statement called forth an indignant denial from the great Oratorian, and with it a reference to an emphatic declaration on the subject which he had made years before.

Deeply do I feel, ever will I protest—for I can appeal to the ample testimony of history to bear me out—that in questions of right or wrong there is nothing really strong in the whole world, nothing decisive and operative, but the voice of him to whom have been committed the keys of the kingdom and the oversight of Christ's flock. That voice is now, as ever it has been, a real authority, *infallible* when it teaches, prosperous when it commands, ever taking the lead wisely and distinctly in its own province, adding certainty to what is probable and persuasion to what is certain. Before it speaks, the most saintly may mistake; and after it has spoken, the most gifted must obey. . . . If there ever was a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who has confined himself to the practicable, and has been happy in his anticipations, whose words have been deeds, and whose commands

prophecies, such is he in the history of ages who sits on from generation to generation in the chair of the Apostles as the Vicar of Christ and the Doctor of His Church ("Cardinal Newman," by John Oldestable, pp. 56-57).

A more abject prostration of intellect, one the more melancholy to contemplate as involving a more complete abjuration of the right of private judgment, it is not easy to imagine. A keen, acute, and inquiring intellect, startled and staggered by some of its own suggestions and the conclusions to which they point, desires rest, and for this is content to repose on the authority of another man. It is not possible for us to inquire here into the reasoning by which it has satisfied itself as to the right of any man to such a prerogative, or, were it to be conceded that such a man there could be, why the Pope should be accepted as the possessor of this authority. Reviewing the history of the Papacy, the mind is simply fatigued by the attempt to conceive of the great intellectual effort, or rather series of efforts, necessary, before one can accept the idea that any man can thus be a representative of God, or, worse still, that such representatives can have been found among the monsters of iniquity by whom the Papal See has from time to time been disgraced. It is impossible to escape from this point by the plea that there are good and bad men in all dynasties. The Popes do not constitute a dynasty. Each one is chosen as the Head of the Church during his reign, and to each one the same gift of infallibility is given. Leo XIII. seems to be an eminently respectable ecclesiastic, though hardly a man whose authority we could regard as final. But this meek and mild prelate only shares this unique gift with a cultured Pagan like Leo X.; with an ambitious intriguer and rude warrior like Julius XII.; with such abnormal sinners against every law human and divine as Alexander VI. or John XXIII. The contention of the defenders of authority is that God would never have given a revelation without sending wise interpreters. There is no argument here, it is a mere *à priori* assumption which has not a word to say on its own behalf. But put the abstraction in concrete form and the difficulties

become insuperable. It is not simply intellectual freedom we have to sacrifice, but our moral sense as well, when we are required to bow down before the Pope as though he filled the seat of God Himself.

If it is suggested that it is impossible a man of power such as Newman's could ever have degraded itself in this fashion, we can only say that nothing can ever get rid of his own distinct statements. In truth, he seemed rather to glory in the most extravagant form of submission and in extreme statements of the dogmas, his acceptance of which was involved in this submission. It is thus that he refers to the miracles in which the Romish Church requires her children to believe. Mr. Kegan Paul, one of his most enthusiastic admirers, says, "It was the fashion to say that a man of his intellect must have accepted the Roman faith with reservations, that it was impossible he could believe all that the Church taught, that he was a Protestant among Catholics, holding only what his reason could accept, and leaving all the rest on one side; but the fact was far otherwise." He supports the contradiction by a passage which is too long to be quoted in full. Its essential points are, however, set forth in a more summary way:—

I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, or for the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman States: I see no reason to doubt the material of the Lombard Cross at Monza, and I do not see why the Holy Coat at Trèves may not have been what it professes to be. I firmly believe that portions of the True Cross are at Rome and elsewhere; that the crib of Bethlehem is at Rome, and the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul; also I firmly believe that the relics of the Saints are doing innumerable miracles and graces daily. I firmly believe that before now Saints have raised the dead to life, crossed the seas without vessels, multiplied grain and bread, cured innumerable diseases, and stopped the operations of the laws of the universe in a multitude of ways.

It is a strange phenomenon to find such a mind accepting such fables. In reasoning on them the Cardinal says, "We think them true in the sense in which Protestants

think the details of English history true." He is fond of *tu quoque* arguments of this type, and they are, for the most part, as inconclusive as this one. Protestants do not receive the details of history as certain, unless they are satisfied that the evidence has been sifted by those who record them; and if fresh evidence is discovered, they are prepared to revise their previous view. A more unfortunate example could hardly have been selected, for our conceptions of personal character or the bearing of particular events are being continually changed, as further research into the records corrects ideas which were previously held. A great history—such, for example, as that of Dr. Gardiner—involves an entire revolution of opinion in respect to a whole mass of details. Would Cardinal Newman have allowed of the same change in relation to the miracles of the Church? Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to follow the legends which have gathered round the lives of the obscure saints in whose achievements the Cardinal professes such implicit faith, to pursue them to their birthplace, inquire as to their genesis, study them in their gradual development, and so strip off the mythical vestments in which some ordinary fact has been wrapped, or perhaps discover that there has been no fact at all, but that the whole is fiction. But it would be possible for science to test the alleged miracle on what is said to be the blood of Januarius, or for careful and extended research to collect the different fragments of the Holy Cross or Our Lady's robe. Suppose this done, with the result that these wonders are disproved, would a Roman Catholic be as free to discard them as a Protestant is to cast aside many of the details of English story? There must surely be a wide difference between a belief in the facts of history and faith in a series of miracles testifying to great religious principles; but even apart from this, the attempted parallel breaks down as soon as it is submitted to examination.

It would be easy to multiply cases of this kind in which Dr. Newman endeavours to turn the tables on Protestants by a *tu quoque* which, in fact, fails at the most essential

point. Thus, as to the worship of images he insists that, if it be wrong, Protestants are included in the same condemnation. We ask in wonder, how or why? His first point is that we show dishonour to images, and the two ideas of honour and dishonour so go together, that where you *can* apply, (rightly or wrongly, but still) where it is possible to apply the one, it is possible to apply the other. "Tell me, then, what is meant by burning Bishops, or Cardinals, or Popes in effigy." This must be accepted as serious reasoning, for it is found in his lectures on "The Present Position of Catholics," and is included as one of its choice passages in his volume of "Characteristics." But it is hard to take it in this light. For, in the first place, we ask where is the Protestant Church which approves the burning of Popes or Cardinals in effigy? Newman goes on to speak of some Protestants who, after preaching against the Catholic who crowns an image of the Madonna, goes his way and sets light to a straw effigy of Guy Fawkes. Where is this extraordinary individual to be found? There are fools and bigots in every community, and Protestant Churches are not without them. But the firing of the Guy Fawkes is a rude pastime of children which sensible Protestants condemn. Even if an eccentric bigot should take part in it, it needs an extraordinary subtle ingenuity to discover in such a piece of folly a parallel to the reverence shown in crowning the image of the Madonna. If the first argument fails, the second is like unto it. It is drawn from the senseless enthusiasm of Irish Orangemen for the statue of William IV. on College Green, Dublin. "These same Protestants, I say, would at the same time be horrified, had I used 'he' and 'him' of a crucifix, and would call me one of the monsters described in the Apocalypse did I but honour my living Lord as they their dead King." This is as unfair as it is absurd. But it is instructive as showing the character of much of the Cardinal's reasoning. Its weakness was concealed by the marvellous beauty of the style in which it was clothed and the fervour with which it was enforced.

What, it may be asked, is the sum total of the great

Cardinal's work? It must be admitted that few, if any, have dealt more severe blows to the Anglican theory than he has done. More scathing satire, more acute logic, more brilliant rhetoric, could not have been directed against any system. The difficulty is to understand how greater results have not been produced. From the Tractarian standpoint, the answer to Newman is not easy; and yet the High Church party, never more powerful than at the present time, owes its position mainly to him. The *Guardian* says as much, and indeed speaks of him as "the founder of the Anglican Church as it now is." The statement is one which convinced and earnest Protestants within the Establishment would do well to ponder. It suggests many reflections as to the present character and position of that Church on which we cannot enter now. Suffice it to say, that it will be strange if a sacerdotal Church can win the favour of a democratic age and a people ever more intelligent and inquiring.

It is quite possible for Catholics to attach too much value to the supposed change of sentiment in favour of their Church. At present this class of writers have the field to themselves; but they do greatly err if they suppose that the feeling which the Cardinal's death has awakened, and which they are doing their utmost to stimulate, is due to any increase of sympathy with his teaching. The two Cardinals have doubtless induced a more kindly sentiment to the Church they represented. The reason is, both the men are Englishmen as well as ecclesiastics; that their training and associations have, all unconsciously to themselves, tempered their ecclesiasticism, and that they have been regarded simply as the ministers of a Church which men do not love, but which they would regard in the spirit of universal tolerance that prevails to-day. Their identification with a political system has been forgotten. If the English sentiment against Rome is in abeyance, it is because there is nothing in the public action of the Papacy to evoke it, and there is a willingness to extend to the Roman Catholic the tolerance which is shown to other religionists. Beyond that, even the influence of Cardinal Newman has not car-

ried the people. It is a vain dream to suppose that the homage from Anglican pulpits mean a mitigation of the "hard words of the official creed," as the *Contemporary* calls them. We have no liking for any such utterances; but he would be a daring man who should propose to tamper with the strong protest of the Articles against the "blasphemous fables of the Mass." "If not," says the writer, "one can only say that the manifestation of sympathy over Newman's tomb was the greatest exhibition of what he most dreaded—the 'liberalism in religion' which thinks one creed as good as another, which owns the Church's rule for the body, but dismisses it for the mind." There is so much truth in this, that it may fairly be said that this extraordinary demonstration was certainly a triumph of Liberalism rather than of Catholicism. Some of it may answer to Mr. Meynell's description; but there was much more of that nobler type which faith in God and His truth inspires, which discriminates between error and its teacher, which rejects dogmas which Newman most strongly maintained, but is able to honour his noble character, and to respond to his eloquent and stirring words on behalf of matters common to all Christians. Nevertheless the fact remains. He hated Liberalism with all the passion of an intense nature; he gave up his life to battle against it, yet it is Liberalism which has prepared many of the garlands so lavishly scattered on his tomb.

THE SELF-TAUGHT MAN.

WHEN a natural history species shows signs of dying out or modifying its type, its characteristics receive more than ordinary attention, and are recorded before the opportunity finally passes away. English history presents numberless instances of men who have overcome great disadvantages of birth and station, in many cases by skill in laying hold of means of education supposed to be out of their reach. The "self-taught man," however, as distinguished

from these, has been seen most conspicuously in our own century. It was the remarkable wave of intellectual excitement which passed over England about the time of the first Reform Bill, setting up a movement of mind which has changed the face of the country, that came as a signal to thousands, making them unwilling to wait longer for advantages supposed to be proper to institutions of learning, and determining them severally to do the best they could with such means as they could find or make. It is in a great measure owing to such men who used their success to make their influence felt in all departments of life and ultimately in the cause of education, that a state of things has been brought about in which men conscious of abilities qualifying them to serve the public are now able to obtain knowledge and the power which it confers under conditions vastly more favourable than those which their predecessors had enjoyed. And precisely because of their success in bringing the means of education in all its grades within the reach of the courageous and energetic, the self-taught, as a separate class, are becoming less important every year, and it seems likely that before very long any one who belongs to it will be held bound to give a reason for not availing himself of the best means of instruction.

Young men of the middle class in the present day cannot know how difficult it was to get fairly started on intellectual lines fifty or sixty years ago. We will take the case of an assize town, the capital of a Midland county, in the year 1830. There was no public library in the place, no mechanics' or literary institution, and public or popular lectures were unknown. An exclusive "book society" alone represented the desire of some ten or a dozen persons to inform themselves of what was going on beyond the range of their business or social circle. The local municipality was self-elected, and confined to one political and ecclesiastical party, and free associations for any public object, even for the supply of gas or water, did not exist. A man who had to earn his living by manual labour, and nevertheless presumed to read books, was looked upon

as a mysterious phenomenon, and by many with suspicion as anti-social and probably contemplating the usurpation of power by irregular means. The publication of the *Penny* and *Saturday Magazines* and *The Penny Cyclopædia* broke in upon this lamentable state of things, and the appearance of the first number of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, with its freer treatment of familiar interests, seemed to open a new era.

The remark of Edward Gibbon that a man's personal and most important education is that which he receives from himself is often quoted as if it were the motto and watchword of the self-taught. But that eminent writer was thinking of his own remarkable experience, and had really in view the process by which a man already instructed turns to further account the advantages he has gained under regular teachers. The self-taught man, as the phrase is commonly understood, is in a different position, and must proceed in a different manner. He is one who has himself discovered and estimated his own deficiencies and devised and executed the means of supplying them. Without personal counsel or warning, without the invaluable support of discipline or the stimulus of emulation, he studies not only in solitude but in isolation—tremendous disadvantages, only to be submitted to under the hardest necessity, or overcome by indomitable energy and persistent courage. This was the kind of life led by Thomas Scott the commentator, for nine years, while working on his father's farm, and endeavouring to qualify himself for episcopal ordination, acquiring a proficiency in the theological languages which was certified on examination as surprisingly great. "To Thomas Scott, humanly speaking," wrote John Henry Newman forty years after this period, "I almost owe my soul."

The great disadvantage, the besetting danger, of the self-taught man is that the strenuousness of his work, the very virtue of his life, may of itself betray him. Knowing how much strength he has exerted, how much trouble he has taken, he will be inclined to measure the result and value his progress by that experience. Instances of this

delusion are constantly occurring. Only a few weeks ago a gentleman who entertained no doubts as to his own attainments favoured the public with an account of a castigation which he said he had administered to another of his own profession who had had a college training, and who had ventured to hint that, after all, a systematic education was better than one wholly unguaranteed. "I told him," said the writer, "that my work was fully equal to his as to what it cost me in mental and physical strength and effort." There is the fallacy full-blown: the effort is the standard of measurement. What the world requires, however, is efficiency, with effort, if that be indispensable, but preferably a maximum of efficiency with a minimum of strain. In fact, the immense advantage of a thorough training is that it economizes power; the greater the skill, the smaller the necessary effort. A slightly built trained nurse will lift or turn a heavy patient in bed with far less muscular exertion than that which a merely strong woman will put forth for the same purpose. The juggler who keeps nine brass balls going in the air at the same time does so more easily than one of his spectators could keep two there. The rustic whose tooth the dentist had whipped out with a jerk, thought it hard to be asked half a crown for a momentary operation. The last man who had drawn a tooth for him had, he said, dragged him three times round the room, and only charged him a shilling. This was the judgment of a rustic, whereas the world's award is half a crown to skill and only one shilling to mere strength.

In the day of their need the self-taught have had valuable help. Channing was one of their good friends. His "Franklin Lecture on Self-Culture" set many hearts on fire. The thing itself, he declared, was possible, since it had its foundations in our common human nature. This was the very assurance for which thousands of souls were waiting. Who, again, could resist the inspiring power of such an ode as this: "No matter how poor I am; no matter though the prosperous of my own time will not enter my obscure dwelling. If the Sacred Writers will enter

and take up their abode under my roof; if Milton will cross my threshold and sing to me of Paradise, and Shakespeare to open to me the world of imagination and of the human heart, I shall not pine for intellectual companionship, and I may become a cultivated man, though excluded from what is called the best society in the place where I live."

John Foster was another true friend, and his "Essays" have braced the minds and directed the lives of thousands of young men. That on "Decision of Character" is especially valuable as showing how will is strengthened and made adequate to great moral aims. Foster himself had been haunted from childhood by the consciousness of powers of thought not understood by those around him, and only imperfectly by himself. Until eighteen years of age he had worked at his father's loom, but long before he left it he had been an arduous though insulated student. Thomas De Quincey, a man of original genius, whose writings are now being once more collected and published, has gone out of his way to depreciate Foster's works. He could not imagine who admired the "Essays," but supposed it must be the Baptists. Since then twenty editions of these writings have been called for, and they are abundantly referred to in the literature of the century. De Quincey had no hesitation in judging Foster, having seen him in society at Bristol and formed an opinion on the spot. As a rule, when a book has done us good it is better to be satisfied and believe that the writer has done what it was certainly his duty to do—given us of his best. Some authors, indeed, make a merit of presenting themselves in all the wildness of nature to their readers. Pope could write, "I love to pour out all myself, as plain as downright Shippen, or as old Montaigne," but he did nothing of the kind; he gave what he believed would be accepted as his best. Foster was austere, and led his life according to settled principles. De Quincey was a humorist, and imagination was the element in which he loved to dwell. He wrote to please himself first, and afterwards the public. Foster in his

writings appealed to men by the dignity of their nature and the splendour of their destiny. Foster never sought the kind of reputation which was necessary to De Quincey: he wrote as Coleridge wrote "The Friend" and the "Aids to Reflection." De Quincey, who took pleasure in assailing the reputation of Plato and defending that of Judas Iscariot, never pretended to be a friend of Foster; he could not therefore do him the wrong which Coleridge and Wordsworth, friends of his, suffered at his hands. In a day when every table is strewn with light writings on grave subjects, there is some danger that men like Foster will be neglected. His intellect was of a high order and strong grasp; his thoughts unborrowed and his views lofty and independent. Isaac Taylor, no mean judge, has said of him, "He is one of those who in these last times have brought the English tongue back from a sapless and spent condition to a condition of vital force."

The best, and indeed indispensable, precaution to be taken by the self-taught man against the danger of over-estimating himself, is the habit of resolute self-criticism, the standard of which is to be found in the best work that has been done by others. It is for this that the student must "forget the things that are behind." It is taken for granted that some end beyond and greater than the pleasure which attends all increase of knowledge and enlargement of view is proposed in self-culture. A man owes to others every revelation of truth manifested to his own mind, and it will be found that a lofty motive has a sustaining power unknown to mere self-regarding aims. The desire and hope of being useful to others will tend to give solidity as well as practical direction to study. Next to this, the virtue of intellectual humility will be most helpful. This is not a peculiarly Christian dictum. The Stoics were aware of it, and Spinoza has said that next to sloth the greatest enemy to personal progress is self-conceit. Of one of his tutors, with whom he could stay only three months, Dr. Fraser, the late Bishop of Manchester, testified that he taught him in that time more than all his earlier teachers had done, for, he said, "he taught me to

distinguish between what I knew and what I thought I knew." It is claimed as the pre-eminent advantage of a collective, and especially of a university education, that "it takes the nonsense out of a fellow." Now the said nonsense is just what no "fellow" likes to part with. The operation, however, is the condition of all improvement, and the self-taught man must learn, somehow, to perform it for himself. When he is steadfastly resolved to do this the battle is half won. What remains is, first, to live with those whom we can and do reverence : to do this personally when possible, and otherwise in the communion of literature, as Channing advises. The next thing is to strive continually to carry knowledge up into wisdom, making it a part of the moral life. To "buy the truth" by obedience, and consistently refuse the bids made for its surrender in the world's great Vanity Fair, will be to find in the end how far-reaching and deep is the saying, "The fear of the Lord *that* is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding."

CONGREGATIONAL WORTHIES.

III.—DR. ROBERT VAUGHAN.

It must be more than half a century since I first saw and heard Dr. Robert Vaughan. I had no idea at the time that I should afterwards be brought into such close association with him, first as a student and afterwards as a close personal friend. My recollections of the occasion, indeed, hardly extend beyond the bare fact that then and for the first time I saw and heard the man with whom I was afterwards to become so familiar—who was to me, as to numbers of others, a guide and inspiration. At the time to which I refer he was the well-known pastor of Kensington, and was gaining a reputation which then was quite unique among Congregational ministers. He was visiting Liverpool, and had been induced by Dr. Raffles to take the Thursday evening service at Great George Street Chapel. I had gone to the chapel in the hope of hearing Dr. Raffles himself, and

felt not a little disappointment when a stranger entered the pulpit. Dr. Vaughan was certainly not the man to produce a deep impression on a small congregation, scattered over the vast area of that noble sanctuary. He was a thoughtful and powerful preacher, with a characteristic eloquence of his own, but at no time could he be described as popular, and he was very dependent upon the electric influence of a sympathetic audience. The week-evening congregation of Great George Street Chapel could not be said to answer to that description. It was small in proportion to the size of the building, and every element of excitement was absent. I fear that the sermon was generally voted dull; at least, until it was known that the stranger, whom few of the audience recognized, was the preacher who was rapidly winning distinction as one who attracted the then Duchess of Sutherland, an intimate friend of the Queen, and others of the same class. My own recollection is of an earnest, serious, dignified man, speaking with great force and impressiveness, and compelling my attention by his novel and suggestive teaching.

I did not see him again until some years afterwards when he, as the President of the new Lancashire College, welcomed me as one of its students. It was my honour to be the first student received into the College, and I entered it with that enthusiasm for it which, with that strong local sentiment nowhere more intense than in Lancashire, I felt for an institution in which Lancashire had set an example to the Congregationalists of the country. The feeling about Lancashire College at that time was very much like that which prevails to-day in relation to Mansfield, with this difference, that the earlier college was the work of one county. It is doubtful whether in this respect there is any parallel to the sentiment which Lancashire felt then, and, I suppose, feels still, in relation to its college. The nearest approach is in the case of Yorkshire, but Airedale and Rotherham divided the attachment which, in the neighbouring county, was concentrated on the one college. The churches of the county regarded it as their own institution. They had helped to build it, they had their annual collections for its mainten-

ance, they took a personal interest in its alumni. I shared to the full that sentiment, and it was certainly deepened by the admiration I felt for the new Principal under whom I regarded it as a privilege to study. Let me add *en passant* a word of grateful reminiscence for his colleagues. Dr. Davidson was then the Professor of Biblical criticism, and the theological differences which have subsequently arisen should not cause any of his students to forget the strong personal interest which he always took in their training, and the readiness with which he always placed the resources of his wide scholarship at their service. It is not easy to exaggerate the value of his classes, or to speak too gratefully of his kindly spirit. Mr. C. P. Mason, then a young man, with the laurels of a brilliant career at London University fresh upon his brow, was the other tutor. As I had entered only for the theological course, I had but little actual connection with him in his professoreal character, except in an extra class, of which Alfred Vaughan was the only other member; but these pleasant readings in the higher classics were sufficient to make us both appreciate the resourceful ability which Mr. Mason brought to his work.

Altogether I shared the pride which was generally felt in our Professors. Of course the staff was inadequate, as was seen at the time, but such as it was it was a distinct improvement upon the former state of things. Our colleges, be it remembered, like Topsy, have grown. They began as academies and have but slowly adapted themselves to the changed conditions which have arisen since their establishment. It is easy to see how they might have been organized on a wiser plan—that, instead of a number of small institutions, necessarily limited in the supply both of students and professors, it would have been better to have had two or three large colleges, and that had this course been adopted we might have secured more *eclat*, and, what is of higher importance, more efficiency at much less cost. But to complain that this was not done is to ignore the circumstances under which they originated. Not only would such a scheme have been beyond the strength of Congregationalists at the time, but it was altogether alien

to the spirit of the generation. It becomes us to be grateful that our fathers did so much rather than to complain that they did not strike out a far-reaching policy, such as we feel to be necessary to-day. A college with twenty students and three Professors was really wasteful at all points, but it was a great improvement upon the academy which preceded it, and strange as it may seem to us to-day there were numbers in the churches who regarded the new departure with doubt and distrust. In remote districts of Lancashire, as in the adjoining parts of Yorkshire, there is a very large amount of ecclesiastical Conservatism even among Congregationalists, and where this was found there was no little jealousy of the college. It was overborne by the influence of a few men to be found chiefly in Liverpool and Manchester. To the honour of Blackburn, which had to part with its academy, it must be said that there also it had earnest friends, and among them none more conspicuous than the two men, Mr. Gilbert Wardlaw and Mr. Hayward, whose professional course was brought to an end by this removal.

It was necessary to indulge in this digression in order that the position of Dr. Vaughan at the time may be understood. The position which he had accepted was a foremost one in the denomination, but it was one that had excited anticipations which it would not have been easy for him to fulfil, and at the same time it was encompassed with jealousies and difficulties which could hardly fail sometimes to try him severely. There was, to begin with, a feeling that the former tutors had been harshly treated, and this was generally shared by the students who had been transferred from the academy at Blackburn. Then it was an open secret that some members of the committee had been anxious for a different appointment, and it was said (I believe with truth) that one of them had, without any previous consultation of his colleagues, made overtures to another distinguished divine. It would be as unprofitable as it certainly would be unsatisfactory to attempt a discussion of the merits of either of these cases, but it will be apparent that Dr. Vaughan necessarily succeeded

to any difficulties which they might create, though he was absolutely free from any connection with either of them. The office had not been sought by him, but had rather been thrust upon him by the force of a denominational opinion that strongly approved and endorsed the action of the Lancashire committee. Whether the choice was wise depends entirely upon the idea formed as to the qualifications necessary for the office. It was rumoured at the time that a Manchester cleric, who was a leading member of committee, in the discussion on the nomination of Dr. Vaughan, exclaimed somewhat hastily, "Do let us have a man who knows his Greek Testament." Considering that Biblical exegesis was not one of the subjects allotted to his chair the objection might seem irrelevant, and yet perhaps it was not unreasonable to ask that a theological professor should be well versed in the Greek Testament. The epigrammatic form in which the objection was put suggests that it was overstrained, and that the future Principal knew more of the Greek Testament than it indicates. Be this as it may, it is not to be denied that Dr. Vaughan was not eminent as a classical or Biblical scholar, and probably a man who was not better furnished would have little chance of being elected to such a position to-day. But, after all, there are more essential qualifications for the office of Principal than scholarship. His great function is inspiration rather than instruction. No doubt if it be possible to secure an eminent original scholar such as Tholuck, he can do immense service, but however efficient his teachings they do not dispense with the necessity for the other, and, I venture to think, higher influence which belongs to genius. This Dr. Vaughan had, and as Lancashire College already had a distinguished scholar in Dr. Davidson—than whom no man of the time was more versed in all the work of the higher criticism in Germany—it was not unfitting that its Principal should be a man calculated to fire the souls of his students with a passionate love for their work, and to point out the way in which it might be most effectually done.

Robert Vaughan was essentially a self-taught man, and he

was not ashamed to confess it. He was born with an intense love of knowledge which very early manifested itself, and by its intensity and resolution trampled over the difficulties which every boy of the poorer classes had to face in the pursuit of learning. He was accustomed to tell with great gusto of the way in which he spent the first money he had at his disposal in the purchase of a book. That passion for books and reading continued to the end of his days, and was the secret of the very wide and varied knowledge of which he was possessed. But books were almost his sole instruments of education. Such training as he had at school was exceedingly brief and limited, and he had not even such advantages as might have been found in one of the dissenting colleges of the day. Rev. Wm. Thorpe, the great preacher of Bristol, one of the most powerful orators in the pulpit of his generation, was his tutor, but how long he enjoyed the benefits of his instruction, or what its real value was, there are no means of ascertaining. Dr. Vaughan used always to speak of his tutor, as he called him, with admiration and gratitude. An amusing example of his feeling came out once in the course of conversation. He was expressing a strong antipathy to *Blackwood's Magazine*, an antipathy for which I was hardly prepared, and of which I asked an explanation. "Ah!" he said, with some warmth, "it was a great favourite with my old tutor. He always read it and it made him a Tory." He was himself a pronounced Liberal of a somewhat special type, for though he regarded himself as a Russellite Whig he had, as was seen in his eloquent speech at the Kossuth meeting in Manchester, sympathies of a much more popular and advanced character than a mere Whig would cherish. His Liberalism was coloured by his strong sympathies with the Puritans, and he could not understand how a Congregationalist could be anything but a man of progress. Mr. Thorpe's narrow Toryism was a spot on the memory of one for whom he had a profound regard, and his feeling against *Blackwood* was an expression of his strong affection for his old tutor and his mortification that his influence should have been to any

extent marred. There was prejudice in it, but even great men have prejudices, and it must be confessed that there is much to redeem this particular one from the reproach that otherwise might justly rest upon it. But its chief significance to us is because of the side-light which it sheds upon the relations between the two men. We suspect, however, that the chief benefit which Thorpe gave to his young student was the impetus derived from his oratory.

This, then, was Dr. Vaughan's preparation for his work. It was comparatively slight, and would have availed little but for the extreme diligence with which he prosecuted his general studies. It must not be overlooked that those studies were attended with so much success that he was appointed the Professor of Modern History in University College, London, in recognition, we believe, of his first work on the Stuart dynasty. History was his favourite study, and on the period in question his labours were chiefly concentrated. So much has subsequently been done for this part of our annals by Carlyle, Sanford, Forster, Masson, and, above all, if pre-eminence is due to diligence of research and singular fairness of judgment, by Dr. Gardiner, that the work of this early labourer in the field has necessarily been thrown into the shade. Besides, Dr. Vaughan laboured under two or three disadvantages. His style was not picturesque, his researches could not be as complete as those of men who were able to give an almost undivided attention to their work, and he was a Dissenter, whose judgments were therefore suspected of sectarian bias, and who, if truth must be told, found it hard to secure any recognition in the commonwealth of letters. Not the less his books won a distinct reputation which would probably have been more extended and more permanent had they not been overshadowed by more recent productions which were more popular, not only because of their intrinsic merits, but because they were from the pens of writers who were supposed to have formed a more unbiassed opinion. The rise of what is little short of a new historic school in more recent years has, indeed, seriously lowered the reputation of works which held a high position

thirty or forty years ago. At that time Dr. Vaughan had achieved a distinction in this department which, remembering his lack of early training and his limited opportunities for research, speaks much as to his original power. His subsequent book on the "Revolution of English History," which was meant to be the *magnum opus* of his life, was severely criticized by Professor Freeman in *The Edinburgh Review* in one of the most savage articles which ever proceeded from a pen that is never lacking in severity towards those who have not grasped the writer's distinctive ideas of history. It was the kind of review which would naturally be penned by one himself familiar with all the niceties of scholarship, and attaching to them an exaggerated value. But it did very scant justice to a book which, despite errors of detail, took a statesmanlike view of the progress of the nation, and gave a broad and well-filled outline of the history of great value to a large class of readers who desired something between the brevity of a mere handbook and the elaborate fulness of a complete history. Here again the book has been displaced by Mr. G. Green's "Short History of the English People," which is really an ideal book of its kind. It is not easy now to realize the impression which Dr. Vaughan had produced at the time. It is one of the evils of a State Church that the men who are outside its pale do not receive a fair acknowledgment even of the literary work they do. The organs of the literary world have to stamp the hall mark upon them, and they are not—at least at the time of the publication of Dr. Vaughan's book were not—ready to do this in the case of Nonconformists. But until they have received this recognition from the outside tribunal they are apt to be disparaged in their own circle. Certainly Dr. Vaughan only became fully known to his brethren after he had first made a name outside.

It was, as already hinted, during his pastorate at Kensington that he first became a conspicuous figure in Congregationalism, and that not because of any remarkable popularity, but in consequence of the attention he excited in circles where the Dissenting minister was but

little known and still less esteemed. He came to be regarded as a preacher for the more cultured and thoughtful classes, and two or three small volumes which he published, one on "Congregationalism," another on "Religious Parties in England," and a third on "The Modern Pulpit," helped to confirm and extend this impression. These volumes broke ground in a field which at that time was all but uncultivated. The author was a warm admirer of John Foster, and of all his writings the essay on the "Aversion of Men of Taste for Evangelical Religion" was that by which he was most deeply influenced. I have sometimes thought that one of the chief aims which Dr. Vaughan proposed to himself in life was to overcome this aversion. The rôle was a difficult one, and certainly was not without its dangers, both to him who undertook it and to those who were affected by his example. The view propounded in one of these volumes, that the special mission of Congregationalism was to the middle classes, did more harm to our churches for a time than can easily be measured. The set of opinion as well as the force of circumstances has fortunately been against it, and despite certain tendencies which still hamper the action of Congregationalism it is coming more and more to vindicate its own character by wider popular sympathies and a stronger interest in all work affecting the people at large. Dr. Vaughan would not have been out of accord with this current of thought, but he had a high estimate of culture and refinement, and was exceedingly anxious that our churches should provide a home for their possessors. His love for the "dignified" and the "proper" was a frequent subject of satire among those of his students who were not in full accord with his views, and of kindly banter on the part even of his sincere admirers. This feeling was not without its influence on his theology, at least in guarding him against the extreme forms of doctrine, but it was in his tone of thinking, his style of expression, his whole bearing and deportment in the pulpit, that its effect was chiefly apparent. His statements of truth were free from all exaggeration, and were given in an elaborate form which, it must be admitted, had some-

times too much of a quasi-philosophical air about them. His manner was singularly dignified and impressive, and though his delivery might sometimes appear slightly artificial, there was a tone of earnestness and authority in it which always made his sermons forceful and weighty. Their eloquence was in the strength of their thought, which was ever adapted to meet the wants of the classes supposed to be alienated from the gospel by the unwisdom of some of its teachers. Looking back now one inclines to the opinion that his view was to some extent one-sided, and failed to appreciate the need experienced even by the most cultured of that which reaches the heart quite as much as that which satisfies the tastes and instructs the intellect. In his dislike of rant and fear of exaggeration he went dangerously near the opposite extreme. Certainly when on occasion he gave the reins to emotion and drew upon the resources of a nature in which there was much more of true passion than ordinary observers suspected, the power of pathos which he displayed made one long that the restraints were more frequently broken so that the world might know how tender and impassioned could be the pleadings with which this philosophical reasoner could enforce the cogency of his arguments.

This is, at least, to be said on his behalf. He secured a hearing from numbers who were little accustomed to listen to such teachings. The committee of Lancashire college thought him the very man to work out the idea which they had conceived. His little book on the Pulpit had produced something of a sensation in Congregational circles—a very mild one as compared with those to which we have been accustomed by the ecclesiastical manifestoes of to-day, but still sufficiently quickening and stimulating in its character. The high view it took of the functions of the pulpit, the familiarity it showed with the varieties of pulpit-power in past ages, the philosophical and yet practical spirit in which every question was discussed, all seemed to make him out eminently fitted for the Principal of a college, and he was chosen accordingly. His course in Lancashire was not as prolonged as might have been

hoped, for when he accepted the office, it might fairly have been anticipated that his tenure of it would only have ended with his life. Of the misunderstandings which arose and prevented this it would be undesirable to speak in detail. It was my lot, unfortunately, to be in the midst of them, and the course which events took was to me a source of sincere regret. In private I pleaded earnestly with Dr. Vaughan not to resign a position which he was filling with so much advantage to the churches, but he had a deep conviction as to the true line of duty, and no appeal could turn him from it. My own belief has always been, and is still, that he exaggerated the difficulties of the hour, but he was extremely depressed at the time by the loss of his son—the great sorrow of his life—and was all the more disposed to seek retirement. Looking at him as he appeared on the platform of the Union during the few years of his subsequent life, one could not but mourn that such noble powers were not more fully available for the service of the churches he loved so well.

As already said, I was a member of the first class of theological students with whom Dr. Vaughan had to deal. I fear he may sometimes have thought us impracticable. We certainly were disposed to criticize him in our own private discussions severely, and as I now see often unfairly. A body of Congregational students are seldom sparing, and often not sufficiently scrupulous, in the exercise of their critical powers. Circumstances served to develop this common tendency with unusual strength in our case. Dr. Vaughan was, of course, known to be quite fresh to his tutorial duties, and, as we have seen, among those who had been transferred from Blackburn were some who were not disposed to regard his work with any favour. He soon bore down such feelings, however, by the strength of his own individuality. In the Principal of a college this is of far higher importance than his theological lectures. He is only one of many theological teachers, for men learn as much from books as from the best lectures, and, if the latter are lacking, they can supplement their deficiencies from the former. But where the Principal himself evokes no

enthusiasm, there is a want which cannot easily be supplied. I know how much Dr. Vaughan affected many of his students in this way. For myself, I cannot be too grateful for the inspiration he communicated, and which has remained with me through the long years that have since elapsed.

Dr. Vaughan was too calm, too self-possessed, unkindly critics might say too ready to stand upon his dignity, and too fully alive to what was due to himself and his office, to be a subject round whom stories would cluster. It was a misfortune that he did not, perhaps could not, make himself more intimate with his students generally. Possibly he was so much engrossed in books that he left neither time nor spirit for social fellowship. It was evident that it was extremely hard for him to unbend, though when he did so no one could well be more genial or delightful. But this was not often done with his students, unless indeed with a privileged few. And here came in another unfortunate deficiency. He was too absorbed in thought to have much insight into men, and all who remember the early years of the college could point to various mistakes in his judgment of character, which were the occasion of trouble to himself and to others. One of the worst was in the case of a Welsh student who, by means of their common poetic tastes, succeeded in getting hold of Alfred Vaughan, and through him of his father. Never was kindness worse bestowed, or more ungratefully requited. It is a melancholy story, with some elements of comedy and others of romance about it. To Dr. Vaughan it was a fruitful source of annoyance. He was imposed upon, as was accidentally discovered, by a forged letter professing to come from a doctor in Wales, who described the young student as the darling of the Principality, as an essayist and a poet, and urged that the darling, being delicate, should be kindly treated, especially by being sent to preach at places where he would have pleasant quarters. But it was Alfred, who had admitted him to his intimate friendship, who suffered most. Indeed, the incident did much to spoil his college career, so far as his relations

with his fellow-students were concerned. As to the man himself, he was one of the noble army of converts from Dissent, on whom the Anglican Church is to be congratulated. The last I heard of him was that he had been troubling his rector as in early days he had troubled Dr. Vaughan.

The doctor's error in this, as in some other cases, was due to a kindness of heart for which he did not always get credit. He could not be effusive, but in him there was a deep vein of genuine sympathy, on which some men found it easy to play. Deeply rooted in him were all the instincts of a true gentleman. High-minded himself to the last degree, he had an utter detestation of everything approaching to meanness or falsehood. He used to say that the last sin which the grace of God eradicated from man was falsehood, and that if there was any man of whom he could despair it would be the confirmed liar. It would have been fortunate for himself if the social qualities had been more fully developed, or more frequently displayed. There was a certain aloofness which was often construed into pride. My own belief is rather that it was due rather to the lack of thorough sympathy, even with friends and associates. He was in friendly relations with all the Congregational leaders, and yet he appeared to stand a good deal alone, striking out an independent path and following it resolutely, whether or not he had the approval of his brethren.

This was seen in the establishment of *The British Quarterly Review*, which was the occasion of one of his earliest and keenest troubles at Lancashire College. *The Eclectic Review* was at that time the literary representative of Nonconformity, and was an organ of which Nonconformity had no need to be ashamed. There were ebbs and flows in its history as in that of all journals, and at that time it was hardly maintaining the reputation it enjoyed when John Foster was one of its frequent contributors. Still, it was a high-class review, conducted with great ability. But it was felt to be too pronounced in its ecclesiastical opinions. Mr. Miall had stirred the languid spirit of

Dissent, and entered upon that aggressive action which has brought Disestablishment within the region of practical politics. It is hard to realize to-day the kind of feeling which his action, in the publication of *The Nonconformist* and the establishment of the Anti-State Church Society, created in Dissenting circles. Dr. Parker looks back wistfully to those early days when the movement proceeded on purely religious lines. If he thinks it was regarded with more favour, then he is egregiously mistaken. A large section of Congregationalists, especially in London, viewed it with something more than disfavour, and it required no little courage for any young minister to avow a sympathy with it. The leaders of London Dissent frowned down upon it, and *The Eclectic Review*, which gave Mr. Miall and his enterprises its hearty support, came in for the same condemnation. There were two or three proposals for starting a rival magazine, but they took no definite shape until Dr. Vaughan, after he had been a year at Manchester, issued the prospectus of *The British Quarterly*. It was the beginning of a short but hot controversy. *The Nonconformist* fell foul of the prospectus, criticizing not only its aims and contentions, but also its composition and even its grammar. But the attack most difficult to rebut was that made on the college committee itself. The treasurer had never viewed the appointment of Dr. Vaughan with much satisfaction, and the appearance of the circular roused his keen indignation. He was an ardent supporter of the aggressive movement for resisting which the new Review seemed to be established, and beside this, he held that the college could not be efficiently served if, at this early stage in its history, the Principal was to be an editor. Unwisely he laid too much stress on the last objection, and so made his defeat the more signal. There was a keen debate, but the vote was nearly unanimous. There is one point about it worthy to be remembered, because it illustrates the character of a man universally honoured, but whose real strength and nobility are not fully understood.

A more true and faithful minister of Christ—one who

answered more fully to the description of a man of God—than James Griffin, it would not have been easy to find. With a charming simplicity of character and a rare affectionateness of nature he combined a strength of principle and an unbending resolution, little suspected by those who knew him only under circumstances which called forth only his more genial qualities. To me he has always seemed a representative of the spirit of the Apostle John, not as it is too generally understood, but as it is presented to us in the New Testament. There is so strong a tendency to dwell on the more loving and lovable elements in the “disciple whom Jesus loved,” that it is often forgotten that of the sacred band none was more fervid in zeal or more passionate in loyalty than he who, if he was the apostle of love, was also a son of thunder. Nothing can be more untrue, indeed nothing can well be more grotesque, than the suggestion that the Johannine temper is exhibited by men who have a nervous dread of all controversy, who would sacrifice truth rather than face unpopularity, who would have peace not only without honour but even at the cost of loyalty. Mr. Griffin was not of this company, as was abundantly shown in the incident of which I am writing. The assailant of Dr. Vaughan, or, to put it more correctly, of his scheme for the establishment of a new Review, was the most influential member of his church as well as his own intimate friend. On the theory as to the relation between a Dissenting minister and his deacons which obtains among those outside our ranks who assume to know us better than we know ourselves, Mr. Griffin ought to have been the humble supporter of the action of one holding such a position. But on the contrary, he was one of its sturdiest opponents, and his influence contributed largely to the success of the scheme. There are numbers who know Mr. Griffin as a teacher and friend, and have felt the singular charm of one in whom the “things that are lovely and of good repute” are so conspicuous, who understand little of the side of his character presented in this slight incident. His literary taste, his strong Nonconformity, his simple but resolute independence, his

true courage, are manifest here, and they have been just as characteristic of him through his long and honoured life as the kindly sympathy, the gracious courtesy, the warm-hearted spirit of brotherhood so familiar to all who knew him. Manchester and the district were greatly favoured at the time in the services of able and faithful ministers, but among them was none more deservedly honoured, more sincerely beloved, than James Griffin.

There can be little doubt now that in the establishment of *The British Quarterly Review* Dr. Vaughan rendered eminent service to English Nonconformity. In some of the aims which were contemplated by him we cannot sympathize, but even in full view of these differences we cannot but recognize the great work which it did. It was doubtless meant to represent the more Conservative side of Nonconformity, and to a certain point it did this very effectively. But there were two serious difficulties in the way of its maintaining this position. The first was that it emanated from Manchester, and derived very much of its support from Manchester. But Manchester Nonconformity has always been pronounced, vigorous and aggressive, and it was hardly possible that the influence of its ecclesiastical and political atmosphere should not be felt, especially seeing that the editor himself (and herein was the second and more serious difficulty in the preservation of its Conservative attitude) had so little Conservatism in his creed or temper. This may seem a paradox to many of Dr. Vaughan's admirers, probably would have been at once contradicted by Dr. Vaughan himself. But the more closely his course is studied and the more clearly will the truth of the statement become apparent. No doubt he had a strong sympathy with culture and refinement, an exaggerated distrust of extremes, a horror of the most remote approach to vulgarity, and a reverence for the past which was almost inseparable from his historic tastes, and these sentiments are essentially Conservative. In every instinct of his mind he was a gentleman, and those who knew him cannot easily forget the remarkable grace of manner by which he was distinguished. He had none of the airs of the

petit maitre, so easy to be acquired by those who will stoop to undertake the task, but good for so little when they are acquired. But he had an innate courtesy and dignity which could not fail to impress those with whom he came into contact by their spontaneity and freedom. All this seems to suggest a Conservative, and such he was esteemed by himself as well as by others. But he was without a touch of the reactionary temper or the servile deference for authority which are of the essence of Conservatism.

In truth, there were other influences at work within him inclining him in the very opposite direction. His passionate love of freedom and his intense veneration for its heroes and martyrs in every age, his belief in the grandeur of humanity, his scorn of all meanness and hatred of all oppression, above all his sturdy and uncompromising Nonconformity, combined to force him into the ranks of the party of progress. In politics he was a strong Whig, but it must be remembered that a Whig of Lord John Russell's type was of a different stamp from that of which Lord Hartington is at present the leader, and, indeed, the incarnation. Dr. Vaughan had grown up amid the struggle for Nonconformist rights of which Lord John Russell was the leader, but though he naturally looked up to him as a leader he was not insensible to his faults. It was not surprising that, as he advanced in years, he looked doubtfully upon some of the more advanced Liberals of the time, and dissented from parts of their policy. It was far more wonderful to note how his prejudices against these onward movements gradually relaxed, and especially how he was led to acquiesce in that aggressive action against the Established Church to which at the commencement he was so intensely hostile, and which, indeed, *The British Quarterly* was intended quietly to discountenance. All this seems at first to point to the conclusion that, as Henry Holbeach puts it, Dr. Vaughan was Roundhead by conviction, but Cavalier in sympathy. But this is hardly true; at least it is not all the truth. For the man who was a fervid admirer of Kossuth, and took a leading part in the wonderful Manchester demonstration on his behalf, de-

livering on that occasion one of those thrilling orations the memory of which still lingers in the minds of numbers—an oration which stirred the enthusiasm of the vast audience in the Free Trade Hall, and of which a lasting record is preserved in the reminiscences of Walter Savage Landor, who regarded it as worthy to rank with the noblest specimens of British eloquence—could not have Cavalier sympathies. No doubt he had an appreciation of some points in the Cavaliers, which was not shared by their Puritan opponents; but that only means that we who are removed so far from the struggle can take a more judicial view of the merits of the respective combatants than was possible to those who were in the midst of the smoke and din of the battle. He admired the grace and gentleness of which Cavaliers unfairly claimed the monopoly, but his keen sense of individual right, his faith in truth and righteousness, his belief in progress, made him more of a Radical at heart than he himself suspected.

EDITOR.

(To be concluded.)

AUGUST NEANDER.

THE history of the world has been regarded as the series of its great historic figures; and the history of theology may be viewed as the succession of great theologians. The world marches forward whither its leaders press; theology moves along the lines that its great teachers dictate. To be great in history a man must have in him enough of the spirit of the present age to understand it as it goes, and enough of the future age to apprehend it as it comes. It is so also in the history of theology. Many great theologians owe their position more to catching the spirit of changing and passing times and showing it in their theology than to grand discoveries or great speculations. This was at least partially the case with August Neander. He has been called "the Last of the Church Fathers," and also "the

Father of Modern Church History," and both with considerable justice. No man, certainly no theologian, unites both in his life and in his work so much of the past and so much of the future.

Johann August Wilhelm Neander was born at Göttingen, on January 17, 1789; thus his birth took place when the French Revolution, the starting-point of recent history, was at its height. His name was originally David Mendel, for his parents were Jews, his father being engaged in commerce, his mother a relation of the famous philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. Very soon after his birth, the family removed to Hamburg, and there young David Mendel was educated. At school he early showed marks of his ability and also of his characteristic faculty of getting completely absorbed in whatever he was studying; for it is said that even in childhood he was subject to strange fits of mental aberration, and once he started off to school in night-dress and dressing-gown, but was brought back by a faithful friend. This anecdote might well be true of his later years, whether true or not of his schoolboy days. In 1805 he entered as *studiosus juris* at the Gymnasium and seemed preparing for a legal career. But the study of Plato and the influence of Schleiermacher's famous "Reden" worked so strongly on his mind, and these, with the society of his student friends, determined him to renounce Judaism and embrace Christianity. On February 15, 1806, when he was in his eighteenth year, he was baptized and took the new name of Johann August Wilhelm Neander. Thus he had early experienced in his own mind how the law of Moses and the thought of Plato were schoolmasters to bring him to Christ; was not this in itself a call for him to become a Church historian?

Neander, though become a Christian, did not at once decide to give up his study of jurisprudence. But it was not long before he became aware that his whole heart was given to the study of theology. He began to study theology at Halle; but ere many months had elapsed, he was obliged to leave it, for Napoleon after the battle of Jena (1806) suspended the University of Halle, and as the French

soldiers robbed young Neander (and many other students), he went off to Göttingen, arriving there without a penny in his pocket. At Halle he had been hearing Schleiermacher lecture; and Göttingen could only offer instead the historian Planck. Schleiermacher had deeply touched Neander; but Planck's influence, if less genial, was not less important, since it was Planck who urged him to work at those monographs, which rendered him so famous, and who suggested to him that his true vocation was to labour in the professor's cathedra. In 1809 he passed his examination as *candidatus theologie*, and for the next year and a half remained at home in Hamburg, engaged in teaching and preparing for his life-work in Church history. In 1811 two vacancies occurred in the theological faculty at Heidelberg and Neander stepped into the opening and began to lecture there. The next year saw the publication of his first work, his short monograph "On the Emperor Julian and his Age: an historical picture." Though comparatively slight, the book is important; Julian is neither made a vile "apostate" nor a hero of rationalism, as the rival schools of that day would have made him; but the story of Julian is told largely from his own words, and the picture of his age is given by one who has really gone over the sources of the period and felt himself into its spirit.

The next year, 1813, finds Neander beginning his work as professor at Berlin. In his twenty-fifth year he was teaching at the chief university of Germany, and in company with such men as Schleiermacher, Marheinecke, and De Wette. For thirty-seven years Neander continued to lecture in Berlin; his life, full of events and changes before, now settles down into a course of work, in which the chief and only events of importance are those marked by the publication of his various volumes. For thirty-seven years—more than half his life—Neander is a typical German professor, only seen in his study, his lecture-room, or on his afternoon walk. One of his disciples has given us a pen-portrait of him, which describes him in his later years indeed, but is worth quoting as it so strikingly portrays the strength and the idiosyncrasies of this very remarkable man:

A man of middle size, slender frame, homely, but an interesting and benevolent face, dark and strongly Jewish complexion, deep-seated and sparkling eyes, overshadowed by an unusually strong bushy pair of eyebrows, black hair flowing in uncombed profusion over the forehead, an old-fashioned coat, a white cravat carelessly tied, as often behind or on one side of the neck, as in front, a shabby hat set aslant, jack-boots reaching above the knees; think of him thus either sitting at home, surrounded by books on the shelves, on the table, on the few chairs, and all over the floor; or walking *unter den Linden* and in the *Thiergarten* of Berlin, leaning on the arm of his sister Hännchen, or a faithful student, his eyes shut or looking up to heaven, talking theology in the midst of the noise and fashion of the city, and presenting a most singular contrast to the teeming life around him, stared at, smiled at, wondered at, yet respectfully greeted by all who knew him; or finally standing on the rostrum, playing with a goose quill, which his amanuensis had always to provide, constantly crossing and crossing his feet, bent forward, frequently sinking his head to discharge a morbid flow of spittle, and then again suddenly throwing his head on high, especially when roused to polemic zeal against pantheism and dead formalism, at times fairly threatening to overturn the desk, and yet all the while pouring forth, with the greatest earnestness and enthusiasm, without any other help than that of some illegible notes, an uninterrupted flow of learning and thought from the deep and pure fountain of the inner life; and thus with all the oddity of his outside, at once commanding the veneration and confidence of the hearer.*

Such was August Neander—not only great as a teacher of the rising generation, not only great as a scholar, but great also as a proof of the power of Christianity to draw men and compel them to the service of Christ—a man, also, striking and strange as preserving, in the midst of an influential life in the most modern perhaps of European capitals, much of the stern simplicity and disregard of the world, which were marks of primitive Christianity. He never married, but lived with his sister Hanna (his “*liebes Hännchen*”), who managed his house and took care of his purse, which he could never manage to keep himself. He would not touch wine—a practice with him more due, it seems, to principles of simplicity and economy than anything else—and for long he was made to drink it at the doctor’s orders, only by it being put in a medicine bottle

* P. Schaff, “Germany, its Universities,” &c., p. 269, f. (Edinburgh, 1857).

and labelled with a prescription-label. When in his last illness he was given champagne to drink, his friends noted it as a sign of his failing powers that he did not refuse it. In his later years he suffered in his eyesight and became ultimately blind; but this neither prevented his lecturing nor continuing his literary work, which he did by aid of an amanuensis. Though diligent in his study and true to his writing, his heart was as engrossed (perhaps more so) in the work of the lecture-room. It was while lecturing that he was struck down with the illness that proved fatal, and only a week before his death he was helped from the rostrum by the loving hands of his students; the notice, which told the students that he would not lecture the following day, expressly stated that the lecture was to be omitted for that day only; to his death-bed came his students to hear his voice for the last time; on his death-bed he would still work and chose only a few hours before he died to dictate part of a lecture in New Testament exegesis. But though the spirit was strong in death, his hour was come. He died on Sunday, June 14, 1850, sixty-one years of age, not old in years, but old in honour and in honourable service.

What the nature of that service was, what the characteristics of his mind, and what his message for the Christian Church, may be seen if we briefly trace and shortly criticize his literary work: for few theologians have given more exactly in their writings an accurate account of their own position, work, and life.

Neander's work on the Emperor Julian (already mentioned), is the only work written by him before he settled at Berlin. His literary activity may be said, therefore, to have been coincident with his Berlin life: for in the year of his settling there, he published his second work, "St. Bernard and his Age," and when he died there, he was still engaged on his great work on Church History. As he says in the preface to his "St. Bernard," he has worked out this subject on the same plan and method as his "Julian." And, indeed, the same plan and method is followed in all his monographs. He draws out the connection between the

external history and the internal life, he endeavours always to present the spirit of the age, and at the same time, he never loses sight of the spiritual life of those he pictures. Indeed, were it not for the object of showing the force and nature of the individual religious life, we cannot imagine Neander ever writing anything at all. No Church historian was ever more religiously edifying; no Church historian's works are more profitable as works of devotion. It is most apparent in his "Julian." Before Neander, Julian had been called "Julian the Apostate," and had been conceived as "Julian the Irreligious"; but Neander justly shows how Julian's conception of Christianity, and his want of any sympathy for what was then largely a corrupt and degenerate system, was the cause and explanation of his hostility to it; "according to Julian's view, everything great and distinguished in the inner, as well as the outer, life of man, in science, and in art, is most intimately bound up with religion"; in fact, Julian, without being "whitewashed" from all his faults, becomes a religious character who, by what he did both well and ill, may teach even Christians a lesson.

In the monograph on "St. Bernard and his Times," the same features re-appear. Neander has so thought himself into the spiritual life of the man, that he explains his position, but is unable or unwilling to criticize him as an historian should. As we read, we feel enabled to live the life of St. Bernard, but we are not made to see where his doctrine is really at fault, where his life is really clouded by worldly and unworthy action. In tracing, *e.g.*, the discussion between Abelard and Bernard, he never shows us the implicit agnosticism which lay under Bernard's idea of faith, nor the implicit Protestantism which lay beneath Abelard's idea of the high province of reason and speculation.* Still less is his judgment of the men, which depends

* It is a striking proof of the fact, that a translator need not understand or enter into the spirit of the original, to find the English translator of Neander's "St. Bernard" supplementing the original with foot-notes, in which the calm picture of Neander is outraged by additions, which call Abelard a "conscience-stricken heretic," and his doctrine "the very essence of Socinianism."

on their positive religious experience, modified by such considerations.

In the year 1818, appeared Neander's monograph on "The Genetic Development of the Chief Gnostic Systems."

This is a work more important than his previous works in its effect on theological scholarship. It was the first critical and constructive book on a subject which is of vital import for the history of primitive Christianity, and which has been taken up since by Baur, Lipsius, Mansel, and Renan (as well as by other lesser lights), who all owe something to Neander, their predecessor in the field. In 1822 two more monographs appeared, "St. Chrysostom and the Church in his Times," and "Memorials from the History of Christendom and Christian Life." His last monograph in the field of Church History was published in 1825, and was entitled, "Antignosticus, the Spirit of Tertullian."

The same characteristic traits occur in all these monographical studies which have been already pointed out as existing in the first two of them, viz., deep study, learning, and care, unbiassed judgment and spiritual insight: but the spiritual insight and sympathy seems to restrict the power to grasp and balance social and political movement. This will be seen still more as his Church History is further examined. Nevertheless, these monographs are pictures of the times as well as of the life of the figure of which they respectively treat; and, as in picturing the persons, so in the periods also, it is the spiritual currents which Neander sounds and registers. In fact, it is as the historian of the spiritual part of man that Neander is pre-eminent. Was it due to a wholesome reaction against the superficial theories of the eighteenth century, that he never ceases to point to the deep spiritual life of individuals as the greatest and highest manifestation of Christianity? Partly, perhaps; but was it not also due to his sympathetic following of Schleiermacher, whose theory, that the essence of religion is our sense of dependence on God, seems logically to lead to the greatest possible insistence on the individual nature of the Christian religion?

Before touching on the great work, by which Neander's

name will be ever rendered famous, his "Church History," it will be convenient to touch on two other of his works, those by which he has become well-known in England—his "Life of Christ," and his "Planting and Training of the Church." In his historical monographs he had made preparatory studies upon the matter of his "Church History;" in these two books he gives us his conception of what Christianity is in its essence and origin. The "Life of Christ" and the "Planting of the Church" come, then, logically, before the "Church History," though in chronological order they stand in the midst of it. The publication of the "Church History" was begun in 1826, and left unfinished, when the author died. The "Life of Christ" was published in 1837, and the "Planting of the Church" in 1832.

The "Life of Christ" was written during the storm produced by the publication of Strauss' notorious book, "Leben Jesu." It is said that, when Strauss' book appeared, and the storm it created was at its rise, the Prussian authorities offered to place it on the Index of proscribed books, but Neander protested with the noble words, "Argument, not authority, must reply to Strauss." Written under such conditions, one might expect to find it a polemic against Strauss; but, as a matter of fact, it is only occasionally and in the notes, that a reference is made to his opinions. Neander's "Life of Christ" is only indirectly (even if it is that) a reply to the mythical theory of the "Leben Jesu." To answer Strauss' book there is but one way, viz., to make a critical examination of the sources of the Gospel history. Yet there is no critical examination in Neander's work, and the strength and merit of the book lies in the unity to which the Gospel narratives are reduced—a unity, which not only makes one picture, but also breathes one spirit of reverence and love, even the Spirit of Christ. On this account the book has been more read, and deserves still to be more read, by the Christian believer, than studied by the Christian scholar. Instead of treating the life of Christ as a history, which demands that criticism of sources, which is the basis of discovering and establishing historical truth, Neander enters into no such discussion, and simply prefaces his

account by presupposing that the "Life of Christ" can only be contemplated by us, if we assume that "*Jesus Christ is the Son of God in a sense which cannot be predicated of any human being.*" Quite in accord with this, he makes the manifestation of Christ necessitate His miraculous birth, a miraculous ministry while He is on earth, and His miraculous departure from the earth. His dogmatic necessities are confirmed, he finds, by the Gospel narratives: accordingly, he believes in them. This method of treating the subject may be doctrinally or philosophically justified; but it will not satisfy an age which approaches these questions in the spirit of historical criticism, taking no doctrine or philosophy as its basis (in a spirit of *Voraussetzungslosigkeit*). It is interesting to compare Neander's "Life of Christ" with Professor Weiss's. Professor Weiss holds the same position at Berlin to-day as Neander held forty years ago. His lectures are as crowded, his influence is as commanding, and he holds a very analogous position in uniting Liberal leanings with Conservative tenets. To compare Neander's with Weiss's "Life of Christ" is certainly encouraging to those who long for a *rapprochement* between the conservative and the critical school. For the conservative Weiss agrees with the critical school at least in some points, which were not conceded in Neander's day, such as the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to one another, in which his view is substantially the same as that of such critics as Abbott and Holtzmann; he admits also the possibility of a legendary colouring here and there in the Gospel narrative, while, at the same time, his representation of the life of Christ asserts and emphasizes the unique and supernatural element in the Saviour's life. If Neander was unable to understand, or meet with the criticism of his day on any common ground, Weiss is able to meet fairly, and on its own suppositions, the criticism of ours. This is an important fact, for it shows not only the possibility of still further reconciliation, it tells us also that to the spiritual conception of a Neander may be added the honest sifting of an acuter criticism.

Neander's work on the "History of the Planting and

Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles" is more important than his "Life of Christ" from the scholar's point of view. It is distinctly an "epoch-making" work. This century has produced many great works on the apostolical age, and probably the fruitful theme has not yet been exhausted: of these works Neander's is the first and not the least important. In it he shows that his conservatism was not of that unbending type which regards all new ideas as necessarily wrong. Two examples of his freedom may be noticed. He did not discover, but he fully accepts, the primary distinction between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, and stamps that distinction as current coin. Again, he fully recognizes the impossibility of the late tradition, which attributes both the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse to the same author; to-day, only ultra-conservative scholars still hold the identity of authorship, but in his day it was bold in a conservative theologian to declare that "we cannot acknowledge the Apocalypse as a work of the apostle." Yet another thing may be noticed here, viz., that Neander pays comparatively small attention to the great question of the constitution and organization of the Early Church. This great problem, which is the point where the controversy between the forces of ecclesiastical and spiritual Christianity now rages most hotly, is never seen by him in its true magnitude. He expresses his opinions indeed strongly enough—"the original constitution of the (Gentile) churches was entirely democratic," and the terms *ἐπίσκοπος* (bishops), and *πρεσβύτεροι* (elders), originally were "perfectly synonymous." But the space devoted by him to the question is extremely small, and he apprehends no difficulties in a view, which is now fast losing ground before the view (represented especially by Dr. Hatch in this country), that the *ἐπίσκοπος* was a separate officer, who rose only gradually to pre-eminence among the *πρεσβύτεροι*.* It was largely because Neander

* Cf. *The Expositor* for January, 1887, p. 12. Dr. Sanday there writes: "Dr. Hatch shows that the two offices were distinct in their origin. Dr. Harnack denies that at any point in their history they could rightly be identified."

felt so strongly that the priesthood of Christ left "no longer room or necessity for any other," that he turned from the question of the constitution, to the questions of the doctrine and spread of early Christianity. It was in fact strictly in accordance with his conception of Christianity to do so. That conception is worth insisting on because it is a fine and noble conception, and because it runs through the whole of his work; it is the fundamental conception of his "Planting of the Church," and it enlightens the whole of his "Church History." Neander conceives Christianity as something essentially external to man, and as something which man must spiritually and subjectively appropriate. Christianity is no internal subjective truth, but an external objective reality. Neander says expressly, "Christianity we regard not as a power that has sprung up out of the hidden depths of man's nature, but as one which descended from above." We need not here discuss whether a power that has sprung up out of the depths of man's nature may not be ultimately the same as one which descended from above; but we must carefully remember that to understand Neander aright this conception must be ever kept in view.

Neander's great life-work, the "General History of the Christian Religion and Church," is accordingly a grand attempt to exhibit how Christianity, thus conceived, has been realized, and been working down the Christian ages. Truly a glorious attempt, and an attempt nobly executed! A history, which shows the greatness of Christ, not in the kingdoms which the Church has ruled, not in the doctrines which the priesthood had preached, but in the hearts into which Christ has entered, and in the lives which the spirit of Christ has hallowed!

From this it may be well understood that the same virtues and the same shortcomings appear in the "Church History," as in Neander's other works. The great figures of the Church are objectively presented, the spiritual tendencies and currents are clearly mapped out, the deviations from spiritual truth are duly noticed and reproofed. But the march of history is not clearly chronicled, the great

epochs of the Church are not enough observed, the individuals are seen as individual Christians first and as only historical figures afterwards. A few examples will show this. Firstly, Neander, though he recognizes chronological divisions in his history, asserts only three periods: these are (1) the spiritual religion of the apostolical age; (2) the observing of the true Christian spirit by a return to an Old Testament form of church life,* and the reaction against this obscuring; and (3) the culmination of this reaction, and the return to the spiritual religion and true Christian spirit (at the Reformation). These periods of course are inadequate, since they are quite independent of the relations between the Church and the world, and therefore unsatisfactory from the point of view of the historian, though satisfying to one who, like Neander, saw spiritual life, not the relations of the Church and the world, as the all-imposing object before him. Again, the epochs of the Church are not sufficiently observed. It is now a commonplace with the Church historian, that the development of Church doctrine and of Church organization go on side by side; † this is never enough emphasized by Neander. Yet, again, his historical figures are men of a Christian life first, and workers in the mill of history afterwards; consequently his judgment of some characters is defective—such, at least, would be the opinion of our sacerdotalist friends about what he says of Cyprian, with whom he finds no fault save that “the point he was contending for, full power for the episcopate, was at times the cause of shipwreck to his spiritual life;” most historians will agree with Neander in this, but will hardly consider it the only sin to be found in Cyprian. But the faults to be found with Neander’s history-writing are, after all, small; they become still less when we consider how much historical science has

* This is a very remarkable opinion for one who was brought up as a Jew on the Old Testament.

† The first stage in this paralled development is marked by the Pastoral Epistles, in which for the first time the bishop appears as ruler of the Church, and the Christian faith is represented as a doctrine.

grown in the last half century ; and we pardon them altogether, when we understand his glorious picture—one full of figures, and covered with marks of learning, and loaded with details—yet a picture with one message, only capable of one meaning, viz., that these heroes of the Church are true Christians, according as they have made Christ their Priest and King.

It would be interesting to enter upon a discussion of Neander's doctrinal position and his practical teaching. But he was not "a doctor," but an historian. Doctrinally he was a follower of Schleiermacher, though not in all points. Of course, as such, his views were not acceptable to all (what doctrine ever was?). Dr. Schaff even, his ardent admirer, disciple, and biographer, has said of him: "It must be confessed that his theology in many points falls short of the proper standard of orthodoxy. His views on Inspiration, on the Sanctification of the Lord's Day, and on the Trinity, are loose, vague, and unsatisfactory."

As for his practical teaching, it is plain enough to all who will read his books. He regarded the spiritual power of Christianity as the hope for a world of sin and suffering. He held it the duty of all Christians to unite against falsehood and wrong. His own words are :

Would that all would hold fast to those forms of Church government, which they hold best adapted to promote their own spiritual welfare ! Only let them not seek to impose upon all any one form as indispensably necessary ! Only let them remember that the up-building of the "Church of Christ" may be carried on under other forms also ! Would that Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, Calvinists and Lutherans would abide by that only unchangeable foundation which Christ has laid.

August Neander was more than a great theologian—he was a true Christian. He cannot be forgotten, for his work abides, and will abide, a lasting monument. Let his works be read and studied : they repay the reading to the general reader, in spite of style often weak and digressions often abstruse and long : they repay the scholar for his study of them, though they do not represent the "latest

results" of learning and criticism. Let those who read his writings forget not his pure spiritual faith. Neither let it be forgotten that he is in himself a proof of the conquering power of Him whom he trusted. Born and bred a Jew, his youth nourished in the age of rationalism, his young mind fired by the speculations of Plato, at the headstrong age of youth, and just as he was entering on a legal career, he is touched by the simple faith of Jesus, and he finds rest alone in teaching with life-long devotion the truth as it is in Christ, his only Priest and his only Master.*



IS NONCONFORMITY DECLINING?

THERE have been two announcements in the newspapers during the last month, each of which is significant as to the present position of Nonconformity. The first may at first sight appear comparatively trivial. It has reference to a mere dispute about precedence in connection with a royal visit to Cardiff, and such discussions always seem to belong, and for the most part actually do belong, to the infinitely little. But a point of principle may be involved in them, as has been abundantly shown in the controversy which has exercised the ingenuity of so many correspondents of *The Times* as to the place assigned to Cardinal Manning in a Royal Commission. When he has precedence it must be either because of his civil rank or his ecclesiastical dignity. If the former, how is it that a British subject is to be

* Last year was the centenary of Neander's birth, and there has as yet appeared no biography of the "Father of Modern Church History." It is not altogether strange that this is so, for though his correspondence, a taste of which is published in the works of the poet Chamisso, would be found very full and interesting, his life was on the whole uneventful. He lived in the lectures he gave and the books he wrote: the latter form a *monumentum ære perennius*. Some interesting "Reminiscences" of him may be found in P. Schaff's "St. Augustine Melancthon, Neander" (London, Nisbet, 1886).

treated as a foreign prince even when engaged in the discharge of duties assigned to him as an Englishman? That, however, may be a point for lawyers to discuss, and considering the position of the Pope in relation to his temporal power, it bristles with difficulties sufficient to tax their utmost skill. It is the other, and as appears to us the true, answer which affects us. Whatever be the position of a cardinal in the eyes of his fellow-religionists, it is clear that in this country the law recognizes in him only a minister of a Dissenting community. He may be as eminent in character as in rank; he may be held in high honour because of his personal qualities and his religious work; but he has no official standing except as a Non-conforming minister. The precedence assigned to him is, therefore, an injustice to all Protestant Dissenters, and it is not too much to say it is a public insult to their Protestantism. Very possibly it was not so intended. We have no intention of manufacturing a grievance out of it, but we are bound on principle to resist such an invasion of religious equality. We ask nothing from the State for ourselves, but we must enter an emphatic protest against discredit being put upon the principles for which our fathers contended even to the death. This attempt to secure a special position for the Roman Catholic hierarchy extended to Cardiff, where the influence of the Marquis of Bute gives the older Church an exceptional power, and led to an amount of excited discussion which has gone beyond the original cause of difference and has resulted in a compromise that is curious and suggestive. The Nonconformists, once roused to assert themselves, did not stop with challenging the claims of the Roman Catholic bishop, but insisted on getting rid of these invidious distinctions common at public ceremonials. They succeeded in securing equality by substituting at the civic banquet to the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, the toast of "Our Spiritual Forces" for the customary one of "The Bishop, the Clergy, and the Ministers of all Denominations." By a certain type of minds this may be regarded as a very small victory, and its only value is that it is the effacement of an invidious, and even odious, distinction.

Much more suggestive, and more gratifying, is the announcement that the Bishop of Lichfield has invited a hundred Nonconformist ministers of his diocese to the palace, and that in connection with the social gathering there are to be religious services, in which Churchmen and Dissenters are to unite. This would be an important move in the case of any bishop, but it is peculiarly so in a bishop of the school to which Dr. Maclagan belongs. An admirable prelate so far as the discharge of the administrative duties of his office are concerned, a thoughtful and in some aspects a liberal thinker, a generous and large-hearted man wherever the rights of his order were not affected, he has always been a strong upholder of a high episcopal theory. Dissenters who have watched him closely have felt that his heart was much larger than his creed, and this move is a proof that they were right. The act is an exhibition of that wise spirit of true Christian brotherhood which raises a man above ecclesiastical prejudices and forces him out of the narrow rut of tradition and custom. There is no intention of seeking for some impossible compromise after the fashion of the Langham Street Conference. On this point *The Diocesan Magazine* speaks very wisely: "There is no intention of discussing the questions which separate them [Nonconformists] from the Church, or of considering the subject of Home Reunion. The Nonconformists will be invited to take part in a devotional meeting, and also to be present in the evening at the cathedral." Most sincerely do we hail such an advance. While a State Church lasts, or even while a party in any Church holds a theory of apostolical succession that denies the validity of non-episcopal orders, there must be flaws in any scheme of union. But let us have fellowship wherever it is possible. There is a wide area of Christian sentiment, as well as a large body of doctrine, common to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ. However earnest we may feel in relation to the points of separation, we ought not to forget the more numerous and vital points on which we are in perfect accord. The bishop is not expected to be less zealous in

the maintenance of the claims of the National Church, or even in defence of the apostolical succession, because he has invited Nonconformist ministers to this act of Christian communion, and he is too sagacious a man to suppose that they will abstain from efforts to secure a religious equality which, in their judgment, is incompatible with the existence of a State Church—still less that they will abstain from protests against the exclusive claims for an Apostolical succession. The controversy must proceed, but such friendly intercourse may help each party to understand better the position of the other, and so may have a liberalizing influence on the spirit of both, and save a discussion of principles from degenerating into a party wrangle.

What is more important to note for our present purpose is the evidence which the invitation supplies of the bishop's estimate of Nonconformity and its position. It is clear he does not expect it to be absorbed or comprehended, still less to die out of the land. His proceeding is itself a tribute to its vitality and force, and an indication as to the policy which he would have applied towards it. It is the act of a man who recognizes facts, and seeing that Nonconformists have an influence in the country, is desirous to cultivate such friendly relations with them as may be mutually helpful in the accomplishment of a common work. It is just at this time that we are favoured with an article, which has been forwarded to us, in *The Newbery House Magazine* on the "Decay of Nonconformity," by a seceder from the ranks of Dissent. How the wiser members of the Church he is so anxious to serve must smile at the excessive zeal of this neophyte. They know something of the real condition of the Dissenting Churches, and, what is of equal importance to an understanding of the situation, of the internal difficulties of their own. It is only men with the outlook of caterpillars who can delude themselves into the belief that the petty annoyances which have fretted their souls or the difficulties which have discouraged their efforts in connection with the Church to which they belong are peculiar to it,

and are prophetic of its collapse. The practical working of every system is sure to fall below its ideal, and it would be an easy, if very ingenious, task to point out imperfections in every Church. But, taken by themselves, they prove nothing, unless they can be traced to the system itself. To collect a number of more or less damaging facts, and to argue that the Church in connection with which they are found is on the decline, is a display of partisan bitterness which does not need serious refutation. Men who would judge truly of the relative position of any community must have a wide knowledge of its past as well as of its present, and not only of it, but also of the other Churches by which it is surrounded. There are in our modern life, so many currents of thought, and so many cross-currents also, and their influence is so difficult to trace, that he must be a very clear-sighted man who is able to determine the relative strength of the Christian Church as a whole as compared with that of fifty years ago; but he must be still more penetrating in insight and more judicial in temper if he is to pronounce as to the position of any one section as compared with all the rest. What varied estimates we have of the results of the great Oxford movement; and, widely as they differ, probably they are all made with equal honesty, and a large array of facts could be adduced to justify any one of them. It is hardly an easy task, therefore, to be undertaken with a light heart this which the Rev. Richard Free, whilom a Congregational minister, has imposed on himself.

His qualifications for pronouncing on the issue he has raised are not obvious at first sight, and certainly are not developed in his attack on the Churches he has deserted. There is not the slightest evidence of such a knowledge of the inner life of Congregationalism as might enable him to form an intelligent opinion; and if truth must be told, the account he gives of Nonconformity would justify the doubt whether he has any acquaintance with its highest types of thought and conduct, whether he has any just appreciation of its work and aims; nay, whether he has

ever fully grasped the principles on which it is based. He writes of Nonconformity as though it were some occult system about which Churchmen need to be informed; and yet he has nothing new to tell. That it is anti-sacerdotal and anti-sacramentarian in spirit and teaching, and that its principles are sometimes pushed to an extreme which, to the sensitive perceptions of High Churchmen, trenches on irreverence, is certainly not new. Nonconformists themselves would be the first to confess and lament the existence of some of the defects of which he insists, but they would assert also that they are the defects of great qualities which he overlooks. The one point which would have been new would have been any proof that Nonconformity was declining, but in that he entirely fails. All he can tell us in the way of fact as distinguished from vague general statements is that "from 1881 to 1890 no less than thirty-three ministers of Congregational Churches have become clergymen of the Church of England." It may be owing to some deficiency in us, but, strange to tell, that fact does not appear to us portentous or even serious. Mr. Free himself is one of the seceders, and we can only say that if in our ministry there are many who are so much out of sympathy with our principles as on his own showing he must always have been, our only wonder is that a much larger number do not desert from our ranks.

According to our critic, Nonconformity is to a large extent the product of ignorance. "I believe," he says, "the average Nonconformist child is brought up in complete ignorance of the Church of England." On such a point it is knowledge, not faith which can be of any weight. Mr. Free's *belief* is a matter of not the most infinitesimal importance. If he *knows* that this is the training of the average Nonconformist child it is for him to say so, and at the same time indicate the area over which his experience or observation has extended, and from which his knowledge has been gathered. He may himself have been an "average Nonconformist child" who was trained after this fashion. We do not deny that there are bigots among ourselves, who may give their children a prejudiced view of

Church and Dissent, but assuredly one of the last faults of which Nonconformists generally can be convicted is this miserable narrowness and folly in the training of their children. They are far more open to accusation on the opposite side of failing to instil into the minds of the young the great principles which they themselves hold.

Mr. Free, however, is full of the idea that Nonconformists are possessed by a fanatical hatred of the Anglican Church:—

“A Nonconformist minister discovers this as soon as he enters on the work of his ministry. As a student he may have indulged in day-dreams of a ministry, quietly pursued, beneficent, generous, ideal. But the moment he assumes the duties of the pastorate he finds how impossible of realization his day-dreams are. He has entered a Society of Protesters, and is expected to fulfil the duties of Protester-in-chief. Woe to him if any lingering flashes of that bright day-dream of his lead him to try and preach Christ without Nonconformity, or denounce sin without ‘the Establishment.’”

If this was Mr. Free's experience we can excuse his turning aside from a ministry so unsatisfactory. But again we say his experience must have been of a rare character. So far as the vast majority of Congregational ministers and churches are concerned, a more shameless and unfounded libel could hardly have been penned. We have long known that a number of Churchmen do sincerely believe that our pulpits are largely given to denunciations of the Establishment; but we have only treated it as one of those extraordinary delusions into which men fall, when they evolve ideas as to the character and habits of their opponents, out of their intuitional consciousness instead of deriving them from personal observation. But here is an ex-Congregational minister who distinctly asserts that his old associates are forced to preach Nonconformity. We not only meet the statement with a contradiction as emphatic as it is possible to make it, but we distinctly assert that he must be a man of exceptional gifts who could retain a ministerial position if he pursued such a policy. Our acquaintance with Congregational ministers is large, but we know no such man. Rather is

it the fault of congregations to criticize preaching of such a character. They hold, and rightly hold, the preaching of Christ as Saviour and Lord as the primary business of the Christian teacher; they are all too impatient even of the exposition of the principles of Church government laid down in the New Testament; they have a nervous dread even of occasional excursions into the regions of ecclesiastical controversy; they would simply not tolerate a continuous attack upon the Anglican Church.

As to Nonconformist ministers, where are the men who delight in this kind of war? We doubt whether even those who are supposed to be most militant occupy as much thought and time in criticisms of the Anglican Church as most of the bishops devote to exhortations about Nonconformity. Let us not be mistaken as though we were anxious to suggest some apology for aggressive Nonconformity. Far from it. If apology be required at all, it is for the lack of this aggressive element. In one point we agree with Mr. Free that "Nonconformity, unless it be a matter of personal conscientiousness, is a positive wrong." But if it be, as with the great body of its adherents it is, the result of personal conscientiousness, then they are bound in loyalty to truth and righteousness earnestly to contend on its behalf. Mr. Free's mode of using the term "Nonconformity" is so vague that we sometimes are tempted to wonder whether he has any definite conception of what it is. He describes it as "a protest," and adds, "if it ceased to protest it would cease to exist." Precisely, but how is the protest going to cease? There is nothing which we desire more, but how is it to be accomplished? Mr. Free writes as though it were due to some native depravity of ours, a double measure of original sin in us which may perhaps explain the amount of sympathy which Congregationalists have shown with Irish Nationalists. But Nonconformity is not an essential feature of Congregationalism. It is forced upon us as it was forced upon the ejected ministers whose sufferings Mr. Free treats so lightly. If he and his friends dislike protests and protesters, it is easy for them to get rid of

both by removing the necessity for protest. We do not ask that they should surrender any of their principles. They must be as free to believe that theirs is the true Catholic Church in this country, and that all Dissenters are schismatics, as we are to assert the rights of individual Christians. They must, if they are persuaded of the necessity for Episcopal ordination, insist upon it, while we, mindful of the fact that the Church at Antioch, the mother Church of the Gentile world, was founded by non-commissioned and unordained laymen, maintain that the only ordination which profits is that of Christ Himself—"The lion hath roared, who will not fear; the Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy." Anglicanism and Congregationalism meet two opposite types of mind and must grow together side by side until the harvest. We are not troubled by the assertion that Congregationalism cannot meet the wants of the English nation, for we believe that it is equally true of all systems. Believing it to be most in harmony with the idea and practice of the New Testament Church, we shall seek to develop it in its spiritual simplicity, but we are not intent on proselyting other Christians, nor are we eager to protest against their views. Our Nonconformity is a protest against the action of the State in undertaking to decide between these rival systems and set up a standard of orthodoxy by an Act of Uniformity. Our Nonconformity has relation to this and this only. In the absence of an Established Church it would not exist. There would still be Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, Presbyterians; but no one Church would be entitled to treat all outside its pale as Nonconformists, or at least it would be a privilege which the bigots of all Churches would be equally entitled to enjoy.

Possibly we have given too much attention to Mr. Free. It certainly is not on his own account, or because of the strength of his contention. Nor is it even because of that "noble army of thirty-three," of which he is in some sense a representative. If they are satisfied with their new position, it certainly is not for us to complain. We

are not in the habit of bringing railing accusations against them—indeed so far as they act from conscientious motives they have our hearty respect and our sincere Christian wishes for success in their new sphere. There are circumstances attending these changes which might extenuate, if not wholly excuse, another style of feeling. To pass from the ranks of Congregationalism into those of the Established Church is a very different matter from a conversion to Presbyterianism or Methodism. The Congregational minister who has become a clergyman straightway passes into what is assumed to be a higher orbit, and is entitled, by the theory of his Church, to treat those with whom he has hitherto been of terms on equality and friendship as pretenders, and there are those who exercise this right to the full. It is true they may owe all that enables them to take their new status to an education provided by the zeal and liberality of Dissenters, but that does not prevent them from treating Dissent with an affectation of ignorance, or a sneer of supercilious scorn.

Of the spirit and conduct becoming a high-minded man, who has felt himself constrained to surrender cherished convictions and sever valued friendships, we have had an illustration in the case of Cardinal Newman. There could be no more scathing exposure of Anglican errors than those which are to be found in his works, but in them all there is a touch of tender sentiment which shows how much of the old love still lingered in his heart. The last feeling in which he was likely to indulge was one of contempt or bitter hate. The result was that he was honoured even by the members of the Church which he left, conscious though they were of the irreparable loss they sustained by his withdrawal—a loss, compared with which the thirty-two seceders from Congregationalism, even though multiplied several times, would be as the small dust of the balance. There would be a like feeling of respect for seceders from Dissent were there a display of the same temper in these Anglican pervers. One of the ablest of these seceders was the late

Rev. Henry Christopherson. He was an able and eloquent preacher, highly appreciated by the congregations to whom he ministered, and his secession was a distinct loss. But no complaint was made of him, for those who knew him best wondered only that he had been able so long to resist convictions and sympathies which had long been drawing him towards the Establishment. We trust we can respect conscience, even when it leads men to a line of action far apart from our own. Under any conditions it is not wise to seek out for unworthy motives, and it is unchristian to impute them. But when we find men seeking for a new pastorate among Congregationalists at the very time when they are negotiating for reception into the Established Church, we are naturally puzzled as to the law of right by which they are governed; when we have them declaring their unalterable attachment to the principles of Congregationalism within a few weeks of their hearty acceptance of Anglicanism, we can only marvel at the rapidity with which the change has been affected; when they claim at once to be our instructors in principles for which we are making sacrifices that they seem unable even to measure, and even stoop to anonymous writing in newspapers in order to depreciate the friends and fellow-workers of a few months ago, we may be pardoned if we give way to a little righteous indignation. Still it is wiser to suppress it, if only for the sake of our own spirit.

Controversy of the kind which Mr. Free has revived may irritate, but it can produce no good result. In the present unrest, which is felt in all denominations, there are sure to be changes, but we venture to think that the perverts on either side will do little service by rushing into the arena, unless they have some new weapons to employ. Mr. Free notwithstanding, Nonconformists have taken their position in obedience to conscience, and if they are to be disturbed in it, it can only be by force of argument. He seems unable to comprehend that they, too, feel keenly their separation from their brethren, that their Nonconformity is with them a matter of stern conviction, from whose obligation they cannot escape. Perhaps there

is no country in which the consequences of standing outside a national institution are so serious to the individual. We feel them all. Boycotting in every department has long been the heritage of Dissenters, and if we accept it, it is not because we love it, it is for conscience' sake. We are not afraid, however, of the issue. Of course we must now and again lose some from our ranks, but their secession will not permanently weaken the force to which England already owes much, and to which it will owe far more when it has succeeded in emancipating religion absolutely and for ever from the controlling and paralyzing influence of the State.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

If we are to judge by some of his holiday utterances, our friend Dr. Parker must be somewhat exercised as to the present condition of the pulpit. We can understand the feeling which has prompted declarations which in themselves are somewhat startling, even though we are not in perfect accord with the sentiment, and still less with the remarkable advice which it has inspired. Before examining his statements, however, it is necessary to say that neither his critics nor his eulogists in the press have taken sufficiently into account the rhetorical form in which, doubtless for sufficient reason, the speaker has clothed his views. If any one were deliberately to propose to him to take measures for suppressing nine-tenths of the Congregational preachers, for restricting the remaining tenth to five-minutes sermons, and for having even these delivered only on rare occasions, at intervals of three or even six months, we can easily imagine his response. But there are some important points in relation to the pulpit which he thinks it necessary to emphasize by putting them in exaggerated form. Unfortunately he does not make sufficient allowance for the more or less wilful stupidity of numbers who

will take his words in their literal and prosaic sense. He must, however, ere this have begun to suspect that he has been unguarded in his utterances when he finds Mr. Labouchere, in *Truth*, hastening to express his sympathy with views which, he says, have long been his own. Of course that admirable gentleman, who seems to regard himself as an authority on all subjects, would be glad enough to suppress 1,800 preachers, and probably to include the remaining two hundred with them also. He is wrong even from his own standpoint, for he cannot get rid of ministers of religion; and if they are not to be preachers they will be priests—a class which surely is more objectionable still.

To discuss the statements in question fully would necessitate a general examination of the position of the pulpit at present that would take us far beyond our limits. We must confine ourselves to one or two passing remarks. As to the curtailment of sermons, no one knows better than Dr. Parker that when men have the stirrings of thought and feeling within them they must give expression to them, and that men will hear them if they have anything worth hearing. That it might be possible to gather large promiscuous congregations to performances of sacred music, interspersed with occasional addresses not more than five minutes' long, we can believe. But *cui bono*? It is not probable that these congregations would become true Christian Churches. But it is useless dealing with these suggestions as though they were serious proposals. Dr. Parker desires less conventionalism in our public services, is especially anxious to see the musical element more freely introduced, and has ideas as to the benefit to be derived from sharp, terse, pointed, and very brief addresses, which cannot be called sermons. That is really all. On the musical question we dissent from our friend. We have already gone far enough in developing this part of the service, and are in imminent danger of going too far. It may sound very strange to the devotees of song, but there are not a few to whom the music is little more than weariness. Of course

their ideas cannot be allowed to rule, but, on the other hand, Congregationalists cannot afford to forget that their strength is in the pulpit. Its work may still be esteemed, as it was in the first days, "the foolishness of preaching," but it remains after the lapse of all the centuries which have borne witness to its force, "the mighty power of God unto salvation."

It is when regarded in this light that the value of the preaching of the unfortunate 1,800 becomes apparent. If a sermon is to be judged by a purely literary standard it may be true that the great majority of them cannot be classed as preachers. But it is not always, or even generally, that the discourse which approves itself to the critic because of its brilliancy of thought or richness of illustration, its cogency of reasoning or its beauty of style, is most successful in doing the great work for which the pulpit exists. There are numbers of preachers who are not orators, and do not pretend or aspire to be so, whose sermons are nevertheless potent influences in the lives of men. They may not have literary flavour, but they have a spiritual reality and fervour by which the careless have been aroused, the sorrowing comforted, the languid inspired, the sinner converted from the error of his ways. Were such men to subside into visitors, ultimately to become priests, it would be an unspeakable calamity both to the Church and the world. Yet there is warning which is greatly needed even in words which may, unfortunately, have disquieted some true hearts. The preacher need not be brilliant, and yet be a power; but he must have a message to give to men, and deliver it with his whole heart.

The death of Dr. Liddon has almost of necessity thrown all these questions relative to the pulpit into additional prominence. Journalists who apparently think themselves competent to decide on the comparative merits of the ministers of every church have been pronouncing him the greatest preacher of the generation. We do not even attempt to judge as to the correctness of their verdict.

Comparisons of this kind are always offensive. Suffice it for us to say that Dr. Liddon had rare gifts of persuasive eloquence, all of which were sanctified to the service of Christ and diligently cultivated so as to produce the highest possible results. His power was indisputable, though we have no sympathy with the invidious criticism which would depreciate others in order to exalt him. "There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit." From a man like Dr. Liddon hundreds, nay, thousands, of other preachers receive more than mere suggestion in the way of thought or example as to the form and style, they gather inspiration and courage. He was a mighty force in our English Christianity, and one we can ill afford to spare. We regret the extent to which the sacerdotal element entered into his teachings and debased their simplicity. But that cannot make us forget the invaluable service he rendered to the Evangelical faith by his lucid exposition, his forceful argument, his impassioned appeals. His memory is sacred even to those who dissented most from his ecclesiastical opinions. In presence of such a life as his it requires some hardihood to say that the pulpit is an effete power. Our wise critics would meet this by asking, how many Liddons are there? Is there another left behind? This may sound very clever, but it is not only unfair to a number of true men who are doing noble work, but raises a misleading issue. In order to see this it is only necessary to apply the same law to journalism and journalists. There are extremely able journalists, but all journalists do not answer to this description, and some would be admitted by their own *confrères* to be anything but able. That, however, would not justify a sweeping denunciation of the press such as we too often find the press employing against the pulpit.

The Wesleyan Conference of this year was greatly disquieted by a strong swell left by the angry tempest roused by the unhappy controversy relative to the Indian missionaries. We hope we may congratulate the society on having fairly overcome its difficulties, although for some time to

come it may feel the effects of the discussion. This happy result, however, might have been more easily and more fully realized had Mr. Price Hughes and Dr. Lunn been more kindly treated. So far as we are able to judge, a serious mistake was made by Dr. Lunn in not confining himself from the first to questions of policy, but even this was not sufficient to justify the scathing censures which were passed upon him by some speakers at the Conference. Even more strongly must this be felt in relation to Mr. Price Hughes. We are not going to imitate the evil example of certain journalists, and assign to him his exact place in the Wesleyan ministry. We are content to say that he has rendered to Methodism a service which it is not easy to estimate. He stands in the forefront of the movements for social reform, and whatever honour he has won as a brave and gallant champion of right, is to the credit of the Church which he loves so well. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of his course in the controversy, the most bitter opponent would hardly suspect him of an unworthy motive or charge him with anything more serious than a lack of judgment, due first to a strong conviction as to the need of reform and next to an excess of chivalry to Dr. Lunn. For him the experience must have been trying, but while he is sustained by a conscientious conviction that he has discharged a duty which must have been extremely painful, he may be assured that the sympathies of the most earnest and active friends of Christian progress are with him, not with his critics. This does not mean an absolute approval of his views. On that point we feel strongly that it would be impertinent for outsiders to pronounce. What sympathy with Mr. Price Hughes means is hearty respect for his character, admiration of his great gifts, gratitude for the brave and noble stand he makes on behalf of righteousness, joy in the remarkable work he is doing at the West End, and as the result of all this, a firm faith that even in these criticisms upon the Indian missions, he has been influenced by a simple desire for their greater success. But far be it from us to suggest any reflection upon the gifted and devoted labourers in the East. Mr. Price Hughes has dis-

claimed any intention of the kind, and though they may have felt aggrieved by some expressions which have been used, it may be hoped that their natural susceptibilities have been soothed by the abundant expressions of the confidence and esteem of the churches at large. The one desire of all lovers of the gospel, to which both parties are alike attached, is that it may continue to extend and prosper. Happily the days are past, we hope never to return, when the difficulties of one church can be regarded with a half-complacency by others. If one member suffer, all suffer with it.

The missionary controversy lent additional keenness to the discussion on the admission of reporters to the Conference. Some of the speeches in opposition were extremely, unreasonably severe in their strictures upon journalism. The feeling shown was violent, and the mode of expression unwise; but has not journalism itself to thank for this excess? A contemporary, while espousing the cause of the press, frankly says that journalists regard the average dissenting minister as a man of the Chadband or Stiggins type. If these are the men who undertake to criticize or even to describe Christian preachers and their work, is it surprising that unkindly feelings should arise? The statement goes to the very root of a serious evil. At the same time ministers will be wise not to be unduly sensitive. Preachers who believe that they are called to a larger ministry and that if they would be true to their Master and the work to which He has called them, they must intermeddle with all questions that affect the moral and social well-being of those whom they are seeking to convert, must expect criticism from the journals. It will generally be unfair, because it forgets the special conditions under which they enter into public life, and judges them as it judges those who are in the rough and tumble of political struggle intent on party aims or it may be pursuing personal ambitions. But they must be content to take it up as a cross they have to bear, one of the many painful consequences of their attempts to discharge a duty which

they feel laid upon them. But men who feel that they can conscientiously stand aloof from controversy and whose only desire is faithfully to serve Christ, may very reasonably complain if they are dragged into a publicity from which they shrink, by writers who seem unable even to comprehend the spirit or aim of their work. They may take encouragement from the fact that a criticism which wounds them is only the expression of an individual, and that it is as ephemeral as it is unjust. Newspapers happily have little to do with appraising the value of a man's work. There are those who never furnish food for paragraphs who have a place in the hearts of their congregations of which neither neglect nor criticism on the part of public journals can deprive them. Log-rolling is nowhere less likely to be successful than in connection with our churches. On the other hand, an ungenerous insinuation may wound its object, but it will have no permanent effect on his position.

The Marquis of Hartington's rallying cry to his party at York is neither very encouraging to them nor creditable to himself. If his Lordship ever possessed capacities for leadership, they seem to have forsaken him. We are not disposed to judge him severely. We can never forget that if there is a man in England who might naturally shrink from concessions to Irish Nationalism, he is the man. Not the less do we esteem it unfortunate for all the varied interests affected by his action that he has allowed his opposition to Home Rule to pass into a general antagonism to progress. His policy has doubtless been a serious hindrance to Liberalism in general, but it has been positively ruinous to Liberal Unionism. We question whether a third party will ever have a permanent place in English politics; but Liberal Unionism had a great opportunity, not, perhaps, of an independent position, but of exercising a material influence in the councils of the party in which it was so powerful an element. The rude abuse in which some extreme men indulged towards those who for years had held a high and honourable place as

Liberal chiefs did not express the feelings of the party, and still less of its illustrious chief. Especially was it impossible to regard the loss of Lord Hartington himself and the great house with a name so honoured in Liberal circles, of which he was the representative, with any feeling but that of sorrowful regret. Had the Unionist party chosen to avail itself of that sentiment, it might have done much to shape and modify that measure of Home Rule, which is a certainty of a not distant future; or if they were to be Irreconcilables on that question, they might, at all events, have kept the door open for reunion with their old friends after it had been settled. That a contrary policy has been adopted, with the result of making the breach wider and apparently irreparable, and, at the same time, of throwing away the advantages of their special position, is due mainly to Lord Hartington. Unionism has brought a germ of Toryism, which probably has always been latent in his nature, and it has been so far developed that it is hard to see how he can now be regarded as a Liberal in any true sense whatever.

As a leader who is to inspire the drooping courage of his party his Lordship is felt to be a failure. Even *The Spectator*, which has exhausted its vocabulary in the praise of the humdrum speeches for which its partizans have to put on a make-believe of admiration, has hinted a mild rebuke of the incessant pessimism, whose utterances may be very frank and true, but are eminently discouraging. This "guardian, guide, philosopher, and friend" of Unionism is clearly very uneasy, and seeks to hide its anxiety under intolerant condemnation of those who are more outspoken. *The Guardian*, ever commendable for its fairness, has ventured to express its honest convictions on the point, and it is immediately denounced for "slack Unionism." But that does not improve the state of the case. We venture to think that, if their secret thoughts were known, there are a large number of the Dissentients whose "Unionism" has become extremely slack. There are signs of this even in Parliament, but they are still more conspicuous and abundant in the constituencies. How could it be other-

wise? There were many prepared to follow Lord Hartington, partly because they were under the strange delusion that he was an "old Whig" of the Russell school, and partly because of a genuine dislike to Home Rule. But they were not ready to follow him into that unrelieved Toryism into which he is likely to conduct them. It is vain to tell the more sagacious of them that Liberal Unionism retains all the old principles of Liberalism, and on every point except Home Rule remain Liberal still. "To whomsoever ye yield yourselves servants to obey," says that grand old book, whose words teach wisdom for this world, as well as for that which is to come, "his servants—or slaves—ye are." The followers of Lord Hartington have thus yielded themselves to the Tory party, and Tories they are. It is not true to say they are separated from Mr. Gladstone and his friends on one point only. If it were so, they would have been infinitely stronger for their own purposes to-day. They will not save the union, but they have checked wise and beneficent legislation, and what may yet be found of more importance than any other result they have attained, they have disturbed, probably for many a day to come, the centre of gravity in the Liberal party. They complain that extreme men are prominent, wild measures advocated, and violent courses tolerated, if not positively sanctioned. The blame rests entirely upon themselves. Those whom they criticize rejoice in their secession, and have done their utmost to force it on. It is the more calm and moderate of their old associates alone who regret the loss of their moderating influence, sometimes, indeed, used to an excess, but, nevertheless, necessary and healthful. They have thus helped to accelerate the pace unduly. They have done much to make our political warfare what it has never been before, a struggle between classes.

Such a result does not say much for Lord Hartington's sagacity. He is still at fault when he raises the cuckoo cry of "Obstruction" as the ground of appeal to the con-

stituencies. He is, indeed, quite consistent in his attitude. It is the same view which he took in those remarkable debates when Mr. Chamberlain, then the obstructor-general, distinctly and not very politely repudiated his leadership. The latest words of the member for West Birmingham before leaving this country were in denunciation of wilful, deliberate, malignant, unparalleled obstruction. It is only necessary to read his words in the light of the incidents of 1879 to which we refer in order to feel that they only show how completely Mr. Chamberlain has changed. Not so with Lord Hartington. Debates are evidently a bore to him, and he easily falls into the sentiment of the Ministry and their supporters, who regard all opposition as obstruction. His Lordship, indeed, has the candour to recognize that obstruction is no new thing invented by the malignant ingenuity of the present Front Bench. He knows that there has been no obstruction during the last Session compared with that adopted by the Fourth Party (when Mr. Arthur Balfour was one of its members), and that its result in their case was to secure for every one of them high position. It ill becomes those who are working with the successful intriguers, and helping to secure for them the rewards of their obstruction, to reproach honest men like Sir George Campbell, who may be bores, but are nothing worse, still less to object to those who exhaust the resources of Parliamentary conflict to prevent the passing of measures which they believe to be injurious, and which are being forced on the House by the power of a mechanical majority. The last Session was wasted because the Ministry knew not how to lead. They blundered at every point, and now that they have to reap the fruits of their own mistakes, endeavour to fix the blame on their opponents. The "obstruction" which saved us from the Public House Endowment Bill will never be condemned by the country, and the consciousness of this permeates Lord Hartington's utterances, and makes them a cry of despair. But he is not logical in insisting on such a topic, for while he condemns obstruction in the Commons, he is continually threatening it from

the House of Lords. It is manifest that he expects defeat at the next General Election, but his hope is in that dignified assembly of obstructives, which exists for the one purpose of preventing progress.

His Lordship must feel the desertion of Mr. Caine, and even more than that, the Liberal victory at Barrow — indicating the loss of supremacy in the town which his House has done so much to create. For ourselves, we thought that opposition to Mr. Caine was ungracious and impolitic, but we are free to confess that the Liberals of the place were right in their judgment, and that those who counselled them to abstain from pressing Mr. Duncan's reasonable claims were wrong. The situation was an extremely awkward one, and the marvel is that out of conditions so unpromising so satisfactory a result has been elicited. The probabilities were all in favour of the return of Mr. Wainwright, and as that would have meant a distinct advantage to the Government, which would have gone far towards balancing the damage they had sustained, it is not surprising that it was thought wisest to avert such a contingency by accepting Mr. Caine. The event has shown the strength of the Liberal cause, and must have been very disquieting to any Dissident Liberals who may have supposed that their return would be so welcomed by their old friends that their offences would be at once condoned. There are probably but few Unionists in the House who have any thought of return. The old Whig section seems definitely to have severed itself from the party of progress, and the approaching visit of Lord Salisbury to Rossendale looks very much like a public acknowledgment of that fusion which has for some time past been *un fait accompli*. The men who are at once loyal to Liberalism, and yet Unionists, are a small remnant. What their future is to be it is hard to predict. But the story of Mr. Caine is full of suggestion for them. There are few of them, indeed, who could urge such pleas for a favourable reception as he had.

He had done real service at a critical juncture ; but even this was not allowed at once to efface the memory of his former opposition. His subsequent conduct in not only, to use his own phrase, "surrendering his sword" to Mr. Gladstone, but undertaking the capture of a Tory seat, is worthy of all praise. To any of his old colleagues who, like him, have become impatient of the hollow alliance into which they have been drawn, we can only say, "Go and do likewise."

Mr. Balfour has once more played the part of Balaam, and blessed those whom he was called in to curse. What the Irish cause most needs in this country is a continuous series of object-lessons, which will help English people to realize what government from Dublin Castle really is. There has, of late, been a lack of any striking incidents which might serve this purpose, and so the Chief Secretary has benevolently supplied the deficiency. That the arrest of Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien was singularly ill-judged even for him, may be gathered from the mournful confession which has been forced even upon his stalwart friend *The Spectator*. "The necessity" (it tells us, writing as though the Government had no option), "is a little unfortunate. The people of Tipperary were of themselves beginning to revolt against the League. A movement far more fatal to its authority than any number of its prosecutions." Whence, then, arose the necessity of arresting these gentlemen on September 18th for offences, some of which are alleged to have been committed nearly six months ago, and to have been repeated during the interval? Clearly these speeches had done no harm, as the Government understands harm, if there was a growing revolt against the League in Tipperary itself. If, then, it was felt to be possible to delay action in April or May, why has it been taken now? There is, according to *The Spectator*, a decrease of the evil—wherefore this sudden awakening to the necessity for action which it has been found possible

to postpone till now ? The question needs not to be argued. *The Spectator* has one of its characteristic articles on the "possibility of reaction in Ireland," in which it tries to persuade its friends that there are signs of a change in Tipperary. It is very cruel to have all these hopes dashed to the ground by the infatuation of a statesman, who fancies that he is carrying out the policy of "Thorough." He is playing a dangerous game, and if a Strafford failed in the seventeenth century it is not probable that a Balfour will succeed in the nineteenth. English Conservatives like these prosecutions as little as many Liberals relish Mr. O'Brien's harangues. We are free to confess for ourselves that the tone of his Tipperary speech was displeasing, and, as we judged, injurious to his own cause. But Mr. Balfour has changed the whole current of our feeling. It is one thing to condemn a speech, a very different one to throw the speaker into prison. Interference with freedom of speech is always questionable, and to be justified only by an imperative regard to the public safety. There must be numbers of Unionists who feel this, and whose return to the Liberal ranks will be accelerated by this last blunder of Mr. Balfour.

STRAFFORD AND CROMWELL.*

ONE sign of the reactionary temper which is abroad in society, and by which men of culture have been largely affected, is the disposition to review, and if possible reverse, the more favourable judgment which Carlyle and Macaulay have secured for Cromwell and the other Puritan leaders. This tendency was sure sooner or later to develope itself. The two great historians we have named took the world by storm, and it was certain that the enthusiasm produced by the first impressions of their works would be succeeded by

* English Men of Action. *Strafford*. By H. D. TRAILL. (Macmillan and Co.) *Oliver Cromwell the Protector*. By REGINALD F. D. PALGRAVE, C.B. (Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.)

a cold fit. It has been a literary fashion for some time to depreciate Macaulay. There is not a whipper-snapper of the Tory school who does not think himself entitled to sneer at the great Whig historian, and there are not a few Liberals who are quite prepared to swell the chorus. To some extent it is a mere piece of literary affectation, but it has its influence. Mr. Froude is largely responsible for the dead set which has been made against Carlyle. The feeling must be temporary, indeed is already beginning to pass away; but while it lasts, it will tell against the great man for whom he has written so powerful an *apologia*.

Among recent books on the Commonwealth period are Mr. H. D. Traill's monograph on "Strafford," dealing with its opening scenes of the great struggle, and Mr. Reginald Palgrave's volume on "Oliver Cromwell, Protector," intended to illustrate the policy of the Protectorate itself. The former is a book whose charm must be recognized even by those who most dissent from its views. The writer does his utmost to preserve an impartial temper, and to deal out even-handed justice to the "great person," as Clarendon calls him, who played so important a part in the history of the times. Mr. Traill's theory is that "the political future of England depended not upon these great popular forces we hear so much of in these days, but upon a few individual lives on one side and the other," and Strafford is beyond all comparison the most distinguished on his own side.

Mr. Traill does not manifest the violent prejudice of a reckless partizan. He is a political philosopher, and writes as such. His judgment on Strafford's apostasy from the popular party, one of the most crucial points in the story of his life, shows remarkable care, and it appears to us is on the whole correct. Macaulay describes him as the first of the generation of Rats, the first who taught the Government that "it is cheaper to import from the ranks of an opposition than to breed in a ministry." No force of special pleading has availed to break the force of this verdict. Professor Gardiner regards his action in 1628 as that of "a sincere and disinterested patriot." Mr. Traill, on the contrary, holds that the intensity of his opposition

in that memorable year was only intended to convince the Government of his value, and so to enhance the price of his apostasy. For ourselves we think Mr. Traill is right. There is indeed no reasonable basis for the supposition which indiscriminating admirers would fain believe, that the transfer of his allegiance is explained by an honest change of opinion forced on him by the increasing violence of his leaders and associates. Mr. Traill is too fair to set up any such defence. "It would," he says, "be very agreeable, no doubt, to certain natural instincts to be able to accept this theory; but unfortunately facts of all sorts, and of every degree of stubbornness, are against it. Even from the point of view of mere chronology it will not stand. According to it we should have to suppose that Wentworth was a convinced Parliamentary man on June 6, 1628, and a converted king's man on July 14th in the same year." On the other hand, Traill rejects with even more scorn the suggestion that he was a hired bravo. But this is hardly Macaulay's hypothesis, though the epigrammatic form in which he puts the case might seem to warrant such a construction. We doubt whether there is any vital difference between his theory and that of Mr. Traill; and such difference as there is does not place Wentworth in a more favourable light. Our author put his own theory thus: "It attributes to him the less serious offence of making use of a political party for his own ends, instead of the deeper guilt of betraying a political cause." We should say rather that if it diminishes his guilt on one side it increases it upon the other. He may not have betrayed the cause of liberty because he never had any fixed convictions or strong sympathies on its behalf, but he assumed the rôle of its champion, and played it with such a perfection of art as to deceive the very elect. We cannot see how his case is relieved by the fact that underneath all his professions there was the basest selfishness, and that he was trafficking in the confidence that the popular party had reposed in him.

We have seen that for a long time past he had been extremely desirous of office, and that he believed high and important office not to

be above his deserts. We have seen that in pursuit of this object he did not scruple to approach Buckingham in an attitude of courtiership, an attitude indeed sanctioned by the usages of the day, but such as only the urgent promptings of ambition could have induced so proud a man as Wentworth to assume. We have further seen that so long as he was pressing these solicitations upon the favourite he took no prominent part in public affairs; and that even after he had been excluded from Charles's second Parliament by the device of pricking him for sheriff, he accepted Buckingham's assurance that he had no hand in the exclusion, and did not break with him until the business of the abrupt dismissal of Wentworth from his judicial post too clearly showed that it was to be open war between them. Then for the first time we find Wentworth in opposition, and thenceforth, until three weeks before his elevation to the peerage, his resistance to Charles' government is most energetic, and by the force of superior genius he passes Pym and Eliot in the race, and becomes the animating spirit of the party to which he has attached himself. Whatever stroke of fence is attempted by Charles or his minister it is almost always Wentworth who devises the parry; and whenever it is a question of retaliating, it is he who suggests the mode in which and the point whereat the blow should be delivered. And thus matters went on until the king gave his assent to the Petition of Right on June 7th. From the 7th to the 26th, when the prorogation took place, the eventful weeks of the debates of Tonnage and Poundage Bill, and the Remonstrances—Wentworth's name virtually, if not actually, disappears from the debates of the House; but I have already stated my reason for holding that this absention cannot reasonably or even plausibly be taken to imply that any process of change was going forward in his mind. If any account need be given of so short a period of time, it is at least as probable a theory as any other that the overtures of the Court to him may have commenced immediately after the royal assent to the Petition of Right. Certain it is at any rate that these overtures, whenever commenced, were not long in securing a favourable response. Three weeks had not passed from the rising of Parliament before Wentworth was raised to the peerage.

This somewhat lengthy passage (which, however, could not well be abridged) affords an admirable example of Mr. Traill's mode of dealing with his subject. His sympathy, as we have seen, is not with the Parliamentary party, but he does not allow feeling to blind him to fact. Anything more damaging to the fame of Wentworth than the representation thus given cannot well be conceived. This miserable intriguing, under the instigation of ambition or

spite, and for the advance of purely personal ends, is surely among the worst of political offences. He is not relieved even from the reproach of betraying a "cause"—the only difference from the theory which Mr. Traill rejects, that imputes this crime to him, is that the assumption has been that it was the Parliament to which he was false, whereas it was the king and the principles of personal rule as represented by him which Wentworth betrayed during the time when he was associated with Pym and Eliot, and surpassing even them in the resolute opposition he offered to the growth of arbitrary power. The effect of that remained even after he had passed over to the others, and sought to undo all that hitherto he had been strenuous in doing.

Our space will not allow of our following Mr. Traill further. We are quite content to refer to him for an answer to the extraordinary view of the opening of the Long Parliament given by Mr. Reginald Palgrave. This gentleman has conceived a special dislike for Carlyle, and one of the great objects of his book is to break the influence of his great work, and secure a new hearing in the case of Cromwell, especially as regards his administration as Protector. As a clerk of Parliament, Mr. Palgrave is naturally jealous for the authority of records, and provoked by the impatient contempt with which Carlyle in characteristic fashion is prone to treat them. Especially is his anger kindled by the "false and virulent depreciation that Carlyle bestows on 'this poor Burton,' and his parliamentary diary." The cause of Carlyle's denunciation, he suggests, is that the Cromwell of the Diary is different from that which the historian has exhibited in his own pages. The Diary is a great favourite with Mr. Palgrave. It is not necessary to discuss here its merits. We are quite willing to appraise the book at the highest value which can be claimed for it. These diaries form part of the materials out of which history is made, but it is absurd to use them without regard to the animus under which they are written. As to the suggestion that the memoirs of Mr. Hutchinson and Ludlow are

put aside by admirers of Cromwell because the writers are not friendly to him, it is simply absurd. Carlyle, no doubt, was too much in the habit of writing with a wild and reckless contempt of such authorities. But even this fault will not prevent the world from recognizing those high qualities which he brought to the great work he undertook and executed with so much success. Nor will it be easy to disturb the verdict which he has so largely helped to win from unprejudiced men on this historical question. Like other eloquent advocates, he has not secured an absolute acquiescence in all his reasonings, but he has undoubtedly succeeded in vindicating his reputation from the calumnies so long heaped upon his memory; and it will require much more than the testimony of old diaries to rehabilitate the theory so industriously propagated by the scribes of the Restoration, and reproduced by Tory writers from that day down to the present. Cromwell was far from being a perfect man; he may have fallen short of being a hero as portrayed on the canvas of Carlyle, but he was a great captain, and a far-seeing statesman, who did noble service for the cause of liberty and his country. Mr. Palgrave's attempt to depreciate his work as Lord Protector will convince only those who are convinced. The result suggests to us the kind of portrait of Mr. Gladstone which may be drawn a century hence by an artist who shall get his ideas of the man from the London correspondents of Tory newspapers, or from a sketch such as Mr. Jennings has supplied.

But Mr. Palgrave has not undertaken to correct Mr. Carlyle only. He is opposed to the view which has prevailed of late relative to the Long Parliament and its leaders. Pym is described by him as the "plot-driver," and the idea set forth in a brief "Introductory" chapter is that his success, first in forcing the King to convene a Parliament, and then in asserting the influence of his party in that celebrated Assembly, was due to the popular belief in a great Popish conspiracy of which the Queen was the head.

England was taught that a vast conspiracy was on foot, headed by the Pope of Rome, the Queen and therefore by the King, and therefore by every person connected with the King, "the Church, and the Government to inflict upon us Popery and tyranny. Thus taught, we felt that in everything that the King did, or left undone, the touch of the Jesuit Papists." This was his motive in the creation of monopolies, in dissolving Parliaments, in driving the Scotch into rebellion; that was why he plotted our ruin by the Irish army (p. xxvi).

It is unfortunate for Mr. Palgrave's case that all the counts in this indictment, with the exception possibly of the last, are fully established. Whatever his motive the King had instituted monopolies and levied taxes, by what must be described as at best a doubtful straining of his prerogative; he had dissolved Parliaments without cause, and sought for eleven years to govern without a Parliament at all; he had forced the patient and loyal Scottish nation into open revolt. Whether, in addition to all this, he had intended to employ an army of wild Irishmen is a matter of doubt, but the doubt is not to the intention to use the army, but simply whether "the nation" for whose subjugation it was to be brought into the field was Scotland or England. That there was a strong anti-Papal sentiment abroad, and that this helped to swell the opposition to the Court is certain. It was often very absurd in its suspicions—about as much so as that of those who ascribe the Home Rule movement to priestly instigation, and fancy that its success would be followed by a persecution of all Irish Protestants, and certainly not so absurd as the suggestion that it was the "red spectre" by means of which the Long Parliament won its signal victories. This fearful thing, which was "not an honest spectre, the product of unbiassed English intellect," but was the creature of the political agitator used to serve his ends, is a child of Mr. Palgrave's imagination. The anxiety about the restoration of Popery was reasonable enough in those days. The Queen was a bigoted adherent of the old Church, and the King was supposed to be a facile instrument in her hands. At the head of the Church was a prelate, who seemed to the apprehension of earnest Pro-

testants, to be doing his utmost to carry the country back to Rome. We, who are wise after the event, may have a different view of his intentions. To us Laud appears far more likely to have set up an Anglican Papacy with himself as Pope, than to have subjected England to the yoke of Rome. But the men of that time who had not been instructed in the principles of Anglo-Catholicism may well be excused if they did not penetrete this subtle design and supposed that the Primate, who discouraged and persecuted every approach to Puritanism, and who encouraged every return, whether in doctrine or in ritual, to the practice and principle of the old Church, meant the re-establishment of Papal supremacy. After all, to the men whom Laud was continually harrying, depriving of their benefices, thrusting into the pillory, slitting their noses, and cutting off their ears, it was not a matter of vital importance whether it was done under the authority of Pope William of Canterbury or His Holiness of Rome.

We could speak in very strong terms of such a caricature of history as is presented by Mr. Palgrave in this "introductory" sketch. The reputation of John Pym, one of the ablest of constitutional statesmen, and one to whose gallant stand for the liberties of the people we owe so much, is too precious to Englishmen to be frittered away by some reactionary theorist who ignores all the most essential features of the case, and constructs an hypothesis on the basis of some incidental and secondary fact, exaggerated in all its proportions to sustain his view. A writer who can believe and put on paper a suggestion so wild as this, hardly needs serious refutation. The sentences in which he opens his case are worth studying.

On the 10th of September, 1640, England was in this position. Our northern counties were occupied and held down by the army of the Scotch Covenanters. They had routed our troops, exacted £850 a day, and were on the advance to London. King Charles stood face to face with the invader. The Yorkshire trained bands had mustered; and their comrades throughout Central England were rallying round the royal standard. The King reviewed "a gallant army with horse and foot sufficient;" he could have met the Covenanters in the field. Nothing had occurred in England to mar this hopeful aspect of affairs,

when, twelve days later, on the 22nd September, the King threw up his arms and sank down. He submitted to the Covenanters; he consented to the Long Parliament. His subjects had deserted him. Three London citizens, not without risk to life and fortune, came between the King and his army, and laid before him a petition, signed by some 10,000 of their fellow subjects, informing him, in effect, that they would not fight for him, and that he must yield to the invader.

This is, to say the least, an extraordinary version of history. The conduct of the three London citizens is remarkable. The results attributed to that conduct are simply incredible. If Mr. Palgrave was really desirous to present a bird's eye view of the great conflict of which the Civil War and the Protectorate formed such an important part, and in order to this proposed to trace these events to their first cause, he ought, at all events, to have given a general survey of the condition of the nation, and this should have been done quite as much for the sake of his own reputation as for that of the great men whose great work he so unjustly depreciates. To suggest that the whole future of English history has been affected by the mere concoction of an imaginary plot, industriously circulated for the purpose of political agitation, is as false in philosophy as it is contrary to fact. The three London citizens were the representatives of a people goaded to discontent by the endeavour to set up arbitrary power both in Church and State, which had been going on during the previous years, and whose strength was manifested in the returns to the Long Parliament. A very different account of the transaction is given even by Mr. Traill. The campaign which led up to the settlement was, according to him, short and disastrous. Strafford was not his former self. Sickness had undermined his strength and impaired his vigour, while the very fretfulness which it induced increased the offensiveness of a manner always sufficiently arrogant and overbearing. The result was a state of disorganization and a feeling of depression which rendered resistance impossible.

We must not attempt to-day to deal with Mr. Palgrave's representation of the Protectorate. His judg-

ments are marred by the fatal defect so common in writers of his school when treating of this period, that he does not take into account the revolutionary character of the period. It is not difficult to show that Cromwell was elevated to power by the army, and that the character of his rule was always tainted by the vices of its origin. But to prove that really means nothing. The question is not whether this was consistent with ordinary constitutional law and precedent, but whether under the conditions as produced by a long Civil War it was not the best policy, and in fact the only policy, that could have saved the nation from a state of anarchy. Even his severest critics must confess that the Protector succeeded in restoring the damaged prestige of his country, and in raising her to a position of authority she had never previously held on the Continent of Europe.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Paul Nugent, Materialist. By HELEN F. HETHERINGTON and Rev. H. DARWIN BUTLOR. Two Vols. (Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welch.) The title of this book is unfortunate, especially when it was coupled with the announcement that the tale was intended as a reply to "Robert Elsmere"; for the expectation thus awakened can scarcely be said to be fulfilled. The book, indeed, is better or worse than these forecasts may have led us to anticipate. Some would probably turn away from it in sheer disgust, under the idea that it would be full of long and wearying discussions; while others, who regard Mrs. Ward's story as a kind of new revelation, would be stirred by an eager curiosity to know what could be said by way of reply. Both these classes will be disappointed. The first will find the story much more lively and less encumbered with theological disputation than they might reasonably have feared; while the other will very probably, with nose turned up in air, sneer at the book as contributing nothing to the great controversy. The latter is certainly a mistake. It is quite true that but little space is given to the examination of various problems started up by "Robert Elsmere." The writers have a different method of dealing with the question at issue. Instead of occupying themselves with the refutation of objections, they are desirous to bring out the positive argument. They present a very striking

contrast between lives left desolate and barren by cold materialist speculations, and lives purified, ennobled, and sweetened by the consolations of true religion, and they trust to this rather than to elaborate argumentation for the effect they desire to produce on the reader's mind. It may be said that this is not argument; and there is so much weight in the reply, that it must be conceded that writers of fiction handling such themes in this fashion have the advantage of being able to create the characters which will best suit their purposes. Looking, for example, at Paul Nugent himself, the unbeliever might as reasonably object to regard him as a typical materialist or sceptic, as Christians, on their side, certainly demur to accept Robert Elsmere as their representative. Wonder has often been expressed at the facility with which Mrs. Ward's hero renounced beliefs which ought to have been carefully considered before he became a minister of the Church. Let us in fairness admit that sceptics may say the same in relation to Paul Nugent. The reason of failure on this point is probably the same in both cases—the difficulty for one who is possessed by strong convictions to put himself in the place of holding exactly opposite ones. Paul Nugent was doubtless very resolute, and, as he thought, fixed in his materialism, but he shows singularly little strength of resistance. We fear that in the actual world a really intelligent and convinced unbeliever would be much more difficult to move. But the weakest part of the whole is the extent to which the influence of love is introduced to supplement the force of argument. A sceptic might fairly say that the conditions of the conflict are unequal, and that Nugent yielded far more to the charms of Maude than to the reasonings of the ardent young clergyman who plays so important a part in the story. In writing thus we are not forgetful of the value of the more serious argument which is sometimes introduced. The writers wisely insist upon the facts of Christianity—its continued survival, its spiritual force, its quickening and consoling influence on the hearts of men—as forming a problem which the unbeliever cannot dismiss with an easy wave of the hand. Some of the points in connection with this view of the subject are put with considerable force. On the other hand, the argument is marred and weakened by the introduction of High Church trivialities, which can do nothing but offend men of robust intellect. But, apart from the theology, the book is an interesting one. The story occupies by far the greater part of the two volumes, and if there is in it nothing very striking, it is quite up to the average of the circulating library. Some of its character-painting is very well done, and the plot is well contrived for the purpose of bringing out the points which the writers wish to emphasize.

For Christ and City. Liverpool Sermons and Addresses. By CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Rector of Wavertree. (Macmillan and Co.) Mr. Stubbs is well known as a clergyman of liberal sentiments, broad popular sympathies, generous temper, and vigorous intellect.

His capital little book on village politics is itself sufficient to mark him out as a man of "light and leading," who, if the Church was administered with a wise regard to its own true interests and the good of the nation, would not be left to the comparative obscurity of a suburban rectory. But it is ever thus. The men who really affect the world are not those whom the State delights to honour—perhaps it may be truly said they are not those whom it can afford to honour. Liddon, Maurice, even such men as Hugh Stowell or Hugh McNeile, would not be safe on the Episcopal bench. So Mr. Stubbs, with all his gifts of lucidity both of thought and style, of fearless courage in the contentions for truth, however unpopular, and above all his remarkably sympathetic temper and consequent power for serving his Church, will probably be left to see inferior men promoted over him, and left because of the very qualities which give him distinction. Wavertree, however, is very near Liverpool, and Mr. Stubbs has not failed to use the opportunities which have been afforded him of influencing the great city. This volume contains a collection of some of his public utterances. They deal with important Church questions on the one side, and subjects of social reform on the other, and they are all treated with so much freshness and force that the little volume has an intrinsic value which many ponderous tomes do not possess. Every one of the papers deserves, and would repay, careful critical examination, but we must content ourselves in this passing notice with a reference to one or two of them. First we will take Mr. Stubbs' definition of his own ecclesiastical position and his relations to other Churches. "I wish it," he says, "clearly to be understood that while I express my most eager desire for hearty communion and spiritual fellowship with all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, be they who they may, I do not wish for a moment to imply that I see no room for preference between the Church of England and the nonconforming churches around her. I shall never hesitate to declare that I know of no organization calling itself a Church to compare with the Church of England. 'For fidelity to the principles of primitive Christianity, for freedom from the possible tyranny of Congregationalism on the one hand and the despotism of Popery on the other, for broadness of creed and wide tolerance, for faithfulness to the whole counsel of God, for rightly dividing the word of truth, for witnessing to all the aspects of the many-sided revelation of the kingdom of God,' I am of opinion that her equal cannot be found. . . . But this much also I must say further, that, while allowing to the uttermost all the advantages to be derived from the fact that 'the Church of England is indeed the ancient Church of the nation, come down in a continuous stream from the fountain-head, it is nevertheless true that no individual soul of man needs to wander back eighteen centuries to find the thrilling touch, the close guidance, the all-surrounding love of the personal Lord Jesus Christ; and if I refuse to recognize that fact, and consider many of Christ's own to be outside the pale of His Church because they walk

not with us, while they cast out devils in His name, and are doing, and doing well, half the Christian work of the country; then I shall feel that it was I, and not they, who were guilty of the sin of schism." This is true Catholic charity—not the contemptuous tolerance of an indifference which has no special attachment to any system, but the broad and generous sympathy of one who is able to respect the conscientious convictions of others, because he holds fast and firm by his own. Of course we differ from many of his opinions, and indeed should be glad to break a lance with him about the "possible tyranny of Congregationalism." There are many grave misapprehensions abroad on the subject which need to be distinctly traversed. But these differences of view do not concern us here, it is the rarer unity of feeling to which we call attention. Congregationalists do not quarrel with Mr. Stubbs or any other clergyman because of his ecclesiastical preferences, it is only when these preferences pass into exclusiveness, bigotry, intolerance, and persecution that we take exception. *Mutatis mutandis*, Mr. Stubbs' general position is ours: that is, we prefer Congregationalism as corresponding most nearly to the Apostolic model, as most in harmony with the Lord's idea of Christian life and fellowship, as most elastic and comprehensive, but were we to hold these views in a temper so narrow as to put outside the pale of the Church all who dissent from them we should be fairly condemned as guilty of schism. In other words, schism is a sin of the heart, not of the intellect. The only other point on which we can touch, and we must do it with extreme brevity, is that of the "social creed of the Church," which the author expounds in a lecture of great beauty, alike in spirit, in thought, and in expression. We might describe Mr. Stubbs as a Christian socialist but for our strong objection to the phrase itself. Socialism had once a definite meaning, and in it, as properly understood, we fail to discover any Christian element. But it has been thought well by some to take the word and apply it to something entirely different from the system with which it was originally connected. The result has been endless confusion, attended with not a little undeserved prejudice, who, however, have often laid themselves open by their own unguarded language. The position of the Christian socialist is very clearly set forth thus:—"In a word, we begin to see, I hope, that the message of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ was social no less than personal. The necessity of personal salvation, the inviolability of the individual conscience—these doctrines must ever be of the essence of Christ's gospel. But do not let us forget that the whole gospel is not contained in these two dogmas. Personal salvation by Christ is true. Protestant individualism is true. But it is not the truth, the only truth. Catholic socialism is true also. While never for a moment, I trust, losing sight of the necessity of that personal religion which requires of each of us that we should daily strive to render our individual lives more worthy of that filial relationship with the Father which our Master came to

reveal, a special duty seems laid upon the Christian man at the present day of insisting upon that social religion by which we are each required to be strenuous in fellow-work with God, through which, according to His purpose, the collective life of man is gradually to be fashioned on this earth after the image of the kingdom of heaven" (p. 43). In this sense we all ought to be, and it is to be hoped for the most part are, socialists nowadays. But the name is misleading, as suggesting that we have borrowed something from Socialist systems, whereas all that is sought is to work out more fully and intelligently the laws of Christ's heavenly kingdom. The difficulty lies in the practical application of these laws. Mr. Stubbs has done something to elucidate this somewhat complicated theme, but we cannot say that he is perfectly successful. We agree with him, for the most part, on general principles, but as soon as he condescends to particulars we are often compelled to part company. To enter into this, however, would be impossible here, in addition to which we hold it of such importance that his great principles should be preached in all fulness that we are content to commend the interesting paper as it stands to all our readers.

The Country Clergyman and his Work. Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology. By Rev. HERBERT JAMES, M.A. (Macmillan and Co.) If we were to characterize this book as a whole, we should speak of it as sanctified common sense. In saying this we are obliged to make some considerable exceptions, though we are bound to say they do not bulk largely in the volume itself, and are such as might be expected in lectures on Pastoral Theology addressed from the Divinity chair at Cambridge to clerical candidates. Mr. James is a clergyman dealing with clergymen, and we cannot expect him to regard the proposals of the Liberation Society with any degree of complacency, or that he can be very friendly to Dissenters. When, however, he talks of a liberation which would pauperize the Church, and paganize the people, he indulges in simple nonsense, since there is no plan of disendowment which has ever been proposed or has any chance of being carried that would not leave the Disestablished Anglican Church one of the richest ecclesiastical bodies in the world. It is our belief, and in this view we are very much confirmed by Dr. Jessopp's account of the trials of the country parson under the present system, that earnest Christian preachers in the villages might find their position after Disestablishment more comfortable if less pretentious than it is at present. In inculcating the duty of pastoral visitation, Mr. James says, "Don't pass by your Dissenters. I know that visits to them are supremely distasteful to some of my brethren. I know also that to others a Dissenter is as a red rag to a bull—a perpetual irritant. But you must bear in mind that the Church of England made Dissent. If in days gone by she had been less of a step-mother, she would now have fewer step-sons who profess neither affection nor allegiance. I will

grant that the attitude of Nonconformists is very trying, and especially at this time, when so many attempts are being made to widen the breach. Still you are a debtor to Dissenters in common with other members of your parish. They form part of your cure of souls." This can hardly be regarded as a sign of clerical bigotry. It is clear, indeed, that Mr. James means his injunctions to be conciliatory, nor in the present condition of things have we any right to complain of them. As Mr. Matthew Arnold was fond of reminding us, the parish priest is the one authorized religious teacher, and instead of regarding Dissenters as belonging to the flock of other under-shepherds, is bound to regard them as his own, although they do not desire his ministrations, and as a matter of fact never seek them. We venture, however, to ask Mr. James how he and his brethren would regard a corresponding exhortation on the part of a Dissenting professor to his students to visit the homes of Churchmen equally with those of their own congregation, and remember that they also form part of their cure of souls. Such a suggestion would be resented as impertinence. Why is it not equally so on the other side? The difference in the two cases is one that is made by the State, and it is the abolition of this distinction which the Dissenters understand by liberation, and for which the Liberation Society is working. When, indeed, we leave this region, and come to deal with topics of a more general character, it is instructive to observe how much ground is common to the Churchman and to the Dissenter. The little book before us is one by which the young Dissenting minister might profit as much as the young curate. We can open it almost at random, and find valuable suggestion. Take, e.g., the following. "*Church Development is the best Church Defence.* And by that development I mean not so much the building of new churches or the restoration of old ones; nor, again, new devisements of ritual or multiplication of services; nor, again, perfectings of organization and addition of machinery, but a growth of healthy Christ-life which shall be as instinct with power as it is attractive in operation." We can heartily commend the book for its truly spiritual tone, for its practical wisdom, for its thoroughly evangelical character, and for its intelligent adaptation to the necessities of the day.

Personal Creeds; or, How to Form a Working Theory of Life. By NEWMAN SMYTH. (T. Fisher Unwin.) This is but a small book, but it is of great value. Instead of another of those keen attacks on creeds, with which we are sufficiently familiar, our author undertakes in these eight sermons a work of reconstruction. What he does is of an extremely practical and useful character. "It is not," he says, "concerning the formation or reformation of the creed of a denomination of Christians of which I wish to speak." It is to be hoped that the time will come when all Churches will attach less importance to these formularies, and may be content with a confession as simple as

that of Peter, when (as our author puts it) "we shall take off all other complicated locks of our modern invention, and leave only that simple latch of Peter's on the door of the Lord's house." The business of the eight sermons of which this volume is composed, however, is not with any movement in this direction. We doubt whether opinion is as far advanced on it as, from a passing reference to the Langham Street Conference, our author seems to suppose. We have been a good deal surprised at the significance which some Americans have attached to a gathering which practically means nothing. The Conference was composed of men who had no commission, who were present only in their individual capacity, and many of whom could not be regarded as representative men. Such meetings are useful as showing how wide the area both of doctrine and sentiment common to good men of all Churches, how small and pitiful are ecclesiastical distinctions as compared with spiritual sympathies. But beyond this they are not likely to effect anything. If our American friends realized more the breach made by High Church opinions, strengthened by the feeling of supremacy engendered by a State Church, they would expect less from them. There are large-hearted ecclesiastics, of whom the late Dr. Liddon was one of the most eminent examples, who keep themselves as free as possible from the latter influence, but it tells powerfully upon the large majority, and baffles attempts at a closer union which otherwise might be feasible.

But this volume deals not with ecclesiastical creeds, but with the personal beliefs. We remember a strong expression of Dr. Stoughton's as to the value of a sentence which was delivered from the chair of the Union some sixteen years ago, to the effect that "a man's creed is not that which he holds, but that which holds him." This is really the idea which lies at the root of these discourses. It is a charming little volume, to which we would fain send our readers. We have met with nothing more admirably suited to the class, unfortunately too numerous, who are wearied of the wrangles about opinion, and probably tempted to say that there is a great deal to be said for and against all creeds, and that it is no matter. Mr. Newman Smyth's aim is to bring them out of this attitude of Agnostic indifference, and he does it by going back to the most elementary principles which they do accept, and arguing upwards from them. His mode of address has about it a singularly engaging frankness which is calculated to win attention and confidence; his reasoning is clear and convincing; his style full of life and brightness.

The Christian Ministry. Donnellan Lectures for 1877-8. By W. LEFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is a careful, learned, and vigorous statement and defence of the position of the Evangelical clergy in the Anglican Church. If it cannot be pronounced completely successful, the fault is to be found not in the advocate, but in the cause he has undertaken. It may be said, indeed,

that Dr. Lefroy's style is too rhetorical for the severe argumentation which his subject demands. His book would be greatly improved by condensation, by a careful and even severe pruning of the style, by a more striking presentation of the leading points in his contention. The author has read extensively, and his treatment of the important questions raised, in the book sufficiently proves his competency to enter the lists even with a champion as able as Mr. Gore, to whom these lectures, delivered in connection with a foundation at Trinity College, Dublin, that corresponds with the Bampton, are intended as a reply. We do not suppose that a more vigorous defence of his position could be set up. But the position itself is so weak that a complete defence is all but impossible. In his dealings with the High Church party, indeed, Dr. Lefroy is more successful than we should have expected. His chapters on "Apostolical Succession" are trenchant, forcible, and to a large extent new. But the work of destruction is easier than that of building up, and it is in this latter that Dr. Lefroy fails, like all who lay stress on any signs of close organization in the Apostolic Church. He lays down as essentials of apostolicity "relationship to Christ as the foundation on which both apostles and prophets built, the maintenance of the doctrine which the apostle taught in His name, and the executive which Christ instituted in and by them." It is in the last clause that danger lurks. It is perfectly true, too, "that the apostles realized the Divine necessity of organization." But too much stress is laid upon the supposed signs of a fixed method of government to be found in the New Testament. Nothing seems to us simpler than the development of the Christian society, until we read into the history some of our own ecclesiastical ideas; but to go into this fully would require a discussion of the entire controversy, which we must reserve. To that discussion Dr. Lefroy has made a most valuable contribution. We cannot be surprised that he, a convinced Episcopalian, is slow to perceive that the one effectual way of combating sacerdotalism is to recognize to the fullest extents the rights of the priesthood of all Christ's people. At the same time we gladly recognize the catholic spirit of his Episcopalianism. He prefers Episcopacy, but he does not regard an Episcopate as essential to a Christian Church.

The French Revolution. By JUSTIN H. MCCARTHY, M.P. In Four Volumes. Vols. I. and II. (Chatto and Windus.) We acknowledge a large debt of gratitude to Mr. Huntley McCarthy for these two volumes. We are not insensible, indeed, to their faults. Mr. McCarthy's style reminds us too much of that of Carlyle—with a difference, of course, and that difference not to the advantage of our author. He has evidently studied the great master with such close attention and warm sympathy, that he has caught his spirit and to some extent fallen into his mode of treatment. He is especially fond of word-painting, and some of his pictures are extremely effective. But beyond the faults of a style which is somewhat too literary for a

purely historic work, objection may be taken to the very elaborate treatment of men and subjects that have only an indirect relation to this main narrative. With that objection we have little sympathy. Mr. McCarthy has chosen to do his work in his own way, and as the result has produced two volumes of extreme interest, and it is very unreasonable to complain that it is not something else. It is in our view much more attractive than a formal history would have been. Histories of this character we have in abundance from men of all parties and even of different nations, but a book such as these two volumes promise us is a comparative novelty. The sketches of men and the pictures of the life of the periods—take, *e.g.*, the remarkable picture of Paris at the outbreak of the Revolution—give great vividness and reality to the story that is here told. These volumes are full of living interest. In conclusion, we can only express our regret that the author has thought it necessary so frequently to criticize Mr. John Morley, and occasionally in a way which hardly shows respect for so eminent a writer.

The Bright and Morning Star, and other Sermons. By Rev. HENRY WILKES, D.D., LL.D. With Prefatory Note by JOHN MONRO GIBSON, D.D. (R. D. Dickinson.) All Congregationalists who met Dr. Wilkes on his last visit to England must retain a pleasant recollection of the warm-hearted, earnest, and vigorous old man. Our own knowledge of him goes much further back, and leads us to welcome heartily this memento of a life of noble and useful service. The sermons of which this book is composed are thoughtful, evangelical, and practical, and give us a faithful idea of one whose name will long be held in respect in the colony in which he did a great and abiding work.

Regent's Square Pulpit. By Rev. J. McNEILL. Vol. I. (James Nisbet and Co.) Few men have risen into popularity with the same rapidity as Mr. McNeill, and of course, like all men of his class, he must have a pulpit in the press. For ourselves we venture to doubt whether he is well advised in publishing these early sermons. It is true that Mr. Spurgeon very early began to publish his, and Mr. McNeill has been announced as the Scotch Spurgeon, but even so it is questionable whether it is expedient to try and maintain the parallel too closely. It is not given to every man to be a Spurgeon. In saying this, however, we do not wish to depreciate the value of this volume. The sermons it contains are full of originality and life. Mr. McNeill thinks clearly, and knows how to express his thoughts in terse and pointed language. There is nothing conventional either in thought or style, and he is rich in homely illustrations and telling appeals. It is only fair to say, however, that his discourses are what sermons ought always to be—more suited to the pulpit than to the press.

Stones from the Quarry. A Volume of Sermons. By Rev. ROBERT

VAUGHAN. (Macmillan and Co.) If, as we suppose, Mr. Vaughan is a young clergyman, this volume is full of promise. In chaste and yet forcible language Mr. Vaughan presents the great truths of the Evangelical system. The sermons are considerably above the average of such productions.

The Unknown God, or Inspiration among Pre-Christian Races. By C. LORING BRACE. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is a really great book, worthy to take its place by the side of the author's previous work, "Gesta Christi." The volume is "in some respects a search for the footprints of the Divine Being in the shifting sands of remote history." Any who know its predecessor will be prepared for the thoroughness with which this search has been pursued, for the rich stores of learning by which every step is illustrated, for the charm which is around the whole. Preachers and students will find it invaluable. The book only deepens the sorrowful sense of loss caused by the unexpected death of one who seemed marked out for distinguished service of a kind which the Church greatly needs to-day.

Jesus Christ the Divine Man. His Life and Times. By J. F. VALLINGS, M.A. (J. Nisbet and Co.) A writer who adds another to the many lives of Christ already published should be able to give some special reason for doing so. Mr. Vallings evidently feels the necessity, for he commences his preface by showing "how far his little book occupies any independent ground of its own." His object, he tells us, has been to make some small contribution to the moral and spiritual history of the Life of Christ, and this in some especial relation to missionary work and the contact of Christianity with non-Christian religions. His book is an endeavour to bring out clearly to view the unique glory, "the incomparable grandeur of Christ's life and character." While thus giving special prominence to the moral and spiritual aspects of the Life of Christ, he has at the same time taken good care to present its "physical and social environment, briefly yet accurately, in the light of modern research." For this latter purpose he has made abundant use of the labours of Edersheim and other well-known writers on this most fertile of all subjects.

The Sabbatical Rest of God and Man. An Exposition of Hebrews iv. 3-9. By Rev. JOHN HUGHES, M.A. (J. Nisbet and Co.) This is an expository work in the best sense of the words. The passage which the writer has selected for his exposition is a very short one, but it is one that is pregnant with deep spiritual meaning. It is a rich mine full of most precious truths equally suited for all places and all ages. Mr. Hughes has worked it exceedingly well, and has succeeded in digging up a good deal of its hidden treasures. He looks at the passage not only in the light of the immediate context, but also in the light of the Bible as a whole, and traces the gradual development of the Scripture doctrine concerning the Sabbatical rest of God and man. The sub-

ject is an attractive one, and it is handled in an able and interesting manner. The book will be pleasant and profitable reading for readers of a robust spiritual appetite.

The Spirit of Christ. By the Rev. ANDREW MURRAY. (J. Nisbet and Co.) The writer of this little book is strongly impressed with the necessity of giving greater prominence, both in Christian preaching and in Christian practice, to the truth about the Holy Spirit. He fears "that in the theology of our Churches the teaching and leading of the Spirit of Truth, the anointing which alone teacheth all things, has not the practical recognition which a Holy God demands, which our Saviour meant them to have. How far his fear is justified by facts it is not easy to determine. No doubt there is some ground for the alarm, though probably less than the writer thinks, and assuredly less than there was at one time. We believe that increased attention has been paid to the subject of the Holy Spirit of late years. There is still, however, room for improvement in this respect, and therefore we welcome this modest but useful and valuable contribution to the proper understanding of one of the grandest themes which can occupy the thoughts of man.

We have on our table some volumes of considerable interest and value, which we must content ourselves with introducing to our readers with hearty commendation. *The Expository Times*, Vol. I. (T. and T. Clark), is a new monthly issue which will help to develop that love for expository study and preaching which is one of the best signs of the times. It is admirably done. *The Old Documents and the New Bible (The Old Testament)*, by Paterson Smyth (S. Bagster and Co.), is an invaluable digest of information not easily accessible on Biblical criticism. Mr. James Payn's *Notes from the News* (Chatto and Windus) are full of fresh, lively, and spirited reading. *A New Social Departure* (Chatto and Windus) is without qualification one of the most charming and attractive books of travel that have come into our hands. It is the story of how two unprotected females made their way through the world. *The Five Talents of Woman*, by the author of "How to be Happy though Married" (T. Fisher Unwin), is just as original and striking as its predecessor, and is doubtless destined to have as high a reputation. We have also received from Messrs. J. Nisbet and Co., *Isaac and Jacob: Their Lives and Times*, by George Rawlinson, M.A.; *St. Paul: His Life and Times*, by James Iverach, M.A.; *The Lives and Times of the Minor Prophets*, by Ven. Archdeacon Farrar, D.D.; *Gideon and the Judges: A Study Practical and Historical*, by Rev. John Marshall Lang, D.D. These are the latest issues of the excellent series entitled "Men of the Bible," to which we have more than once drawn the attention of our readers. While commending them all, we would lay special stress on the last two.

POISON IN TOILET SOAPS!

Attention is directed to this Paragraph from
"The Times" newspaper:—

"DANGEROUS SOAPS.—At a recent sitting of the Academy of Medicine, Dr. Reveil read a paper on the necessity of preventing Chemists and Perfumers from selling poisonous or dangerous Soaps. To show the danger there is in allowing their unchecked sale he said, 'I need but state that arsenic, the acid nitrate of mercury, tartar emetic, and potassa caustica, form part of their ingredients, whilst they are coloured green by the sesquioxide of chromium, or of a rose colour by the bisulphuret of mercury (vermilion); some contain 30 per cent. of insoluble matter, such as lime or plaster, and others contain animal nitrogenous matter, which causes a chronic inflammation of the skin.'"

The injury to the skin and complexion resulting from the use of these Soaps is seldom attributed to the real cause, so that, unfortunately, the mischief proceeds until too often the beauty of the complexion is ruined, and even the general health impaired.

With the fullest confidence the Proprietors of **PEARS' SOAP** recommend their speciality. They do not claim that it is the *only* pure Soap, but one of the *very few* offered to the Public. It would be easy to become self laudatory in this respect, but the following evidence is likely to prove much more convincing.

From **Professor JOHN ATTFIELD**

PROFESSOR OF PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY TO THE PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF
GREAT BRITAIN; AUTHOR OF A MANUAL OF GENERAL, MEDICAL,
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"I have annually, for the past ten years, made an independent analysis of **Pears' Soap**, and have not found it to vary in quality or in composition. It contains neither excess of alkali nor of moisture, and it is free from artificial colouring matter. **A better, purer, or more usefully durable Soap cannot be made.**"

“There is no Appeal beyond
Cæsar!”

The late world-renowned Dermatologist,
Sir ERASMUS WILSON, F.R.S.,
The FIRST AND ONLY
President of the Royal College of Surgeons
who ever gave a public Testimonial, and the following is
THE ONLY TESTIMONIAL HE EVER GAVE.

“If it be well to wash the skin—and we never heard the proposition questioned—it is well also that we should be familiar with the means by which that purpose may be most efficiently attained.

“We once knew a beautiful woman, with a nice complexion, who had never washed her face with soap all her life through; her means of polishing were, a smear of grease or cold cream; then a wipe, and then a lick with rose water. Of course we did not care to look too closely after such an avowal, but we pitied her, for soap is the food of the skin.—

Soap is to the skin what Wine is to the stomach,

a generous stimulant. It not only removes the dirt, but the layer which carries the dirt; and it promotes the displacement of the old cuticle to make way for the new, to increase the activity of change in the skin. Now turn we to Toilet Soaps and there we find

a name engraven on the memory
of the oldest inhabitant—**PEARS.**

PEARS' SOAP! *an article of the nicest and most careful
manufacture, and the most refreshing and agreeable of balms
to the skin.*”

ONE OF THE THINGS WE ARE APT TO GRUMBLE AT IN FRANCE,

The providing of one's own soap at hotels!

Permit me to remark that this is one of those things

THEY DO MANAGE BETTER IN FRANCE
than we do here. I am strongly of opinion that every one when travelling should carry his or her own soap as one takes ones own hair-brush or sponge. It is much more cleanly, and there can be no better providing in this respect for the hot sun and warm winds and dust of travel than a cake of

"PEARS"

which, under such circumstances, I have found very efficient in the prevention of sunburn and allied annoyances.

FROM AN ARTICLE BY

Dr. ANDREW WILSON, F.R.S.E.

Lecturer on Health under the "Combe Trust;"
Lecturer on Physiology at the Edinburgh University;
Editor of "Health."

HONEST SOAP.

The Testimony of Half-a-Century.

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INDISPUTABLE EVIDENCE OF SUPERIORITY.

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BEING authorised by Messrs. PEARS to purchase at any and all times and of any dealers samples of their Soap (thus ensuring such samples being of exactly the same quality as is supplied to the general public), and to submit same to the strictest chemical analysis, I am enabled to guarantee its invariable purity.

My analytical and practical experience of PEARS' SOAP now extends over a lengthened period—**NEARLY FIFTY YEARS**—during which time—



*I have never come across another
Toilet Soap which so closely realises
my ideal of perfection.*

its purity is such that it may be used with perfect confidence upon the tenderest and most sensitive skin—

even that of a New Born Babe."

